

For Richer, For Poorer: Jesuit Secondary Education in America and the Challenge of Elitism

Author: Casey Christopher Beaumier

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Boston College
The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Department of History

FOR RICHER, FOR POORER:
JESUIT SECONDARY EDUCATION IN AMERICA
AND THE CHALLENGE OF ELITISM

a dissertation

by

CASEY CHRISTOPHER BEAUMIER, S.J.

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For Richer, For Poorer:
Jesuit Secondary Education in America and the Challenge of Elitism

Casey Christopher Beaumier, S.J.
Professor James O'Toole, Advisor

In the 1960s American Jesuit secondary school administrators struggled to resolve a profound tension within their institutions. The religious order's traditional educational aim dating back to the 1500s emphasized influence through contact with "important and public persons" in order that the Jesuits might in turn help direct cultures around the world to a more universal good. This historical foundation clashed sharply with what was emerging as the Jesuits' new emphasis on a preferential option for the poor. This dissertation argues that the greater cultural and religious changes of the 1960s posed a fundamental challenge to Catholic elite education in the United States. The competing visions of the Jesuits produced a crisis of identity, causing some Jesuit high schools either to collapse or reinvent themselves in the debate over whether Jesuit schools were for richer or for poorer Americans.

The dissertation examines briefly the historical process that led to this crisis of identity, beginning with the contribution of Jesuit education to the Americanization of massive numbers of first and second-generation immigrant Catholics as they adjusted to life in America in the first half of the twentieth century. As Catholics adapted, increasingly sophisticated American Jesuit schools became instrumental in the formation of a Catholic elite, and many of the institutions found themselves among elite American schools. This elite identity was disrupted by two factors: the cultural volatility of the 1960s and the Jesuits' election of a new leader, Pedro Arrupe. While some Jesuit educators embraced

Arrupe's preferential option for the poor, others feared it would undercut the traditional approach of outreach to the elite. Through a case study of one Jesuit boarding school, the dissertation seeks to expand our understanding of the impact of 1960s social change into the less-explored realms of religion and education.

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Introduction

American Jesuit high school administrators of the late 1960s struggled to resolve a profound tension within their institutions. The Catholic religious order's traditional educational aim dating back to the 1500s emphasized contact with "important and public persons" in order that the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, through such influence might help to direct cultures around the world to "a more universal good." This historical foundation clashed sharply with what was emerging in the mid-twentieth century as the Jesuits' new emphasis on striving to transform their schools through the promotion of a "preferential option for the poor." The greater cultural and religious changes of the 1960s posed a fundamental challenge to this increasingly elite Jesuit education in the United States, manifested primarily through strong disagreement over the kind of distinguished, influential person the Jesuits hoped to form. The competing historical and contemporary visions of the Jesuits produced a crisis of identity for themselves and their institutions, causing some schools to collapse in the debate over whether Jesuit schools were for richer or for poorer Americans.

The present circumstances of Jesuit high schools suggest the resolution to this historical identity crisis, for today in many of the major cities of the United States Jesuit high schools are regarded as among the strongest of schools. Arguably, in some American cities, the Jesuit high school is the city's best school and perceived as elite. Most of the Jesuit high schools of today have superb physical plants, competitive athletic programs, a wide selection of Advanced Placement courses, a sincere Catholic religious formation

program, and an active and successful fundraising capacity, supported by energetic, loyal alumni. Most Jesuit high school enrollments have continued to grow, unlike those of other Catholic schools. According to the National Catholic Educational Association, between 2000 and 2012 almost 24 percent of Catholic schools in the United States closed or consolidated, resulting in a decline of over 23 percent of Catholic school student population.¹ However, in the academic year 2010–2011 total enrollment at the Jesuit high schools in the United States was 51,151 and increased to 51,463 in the 2011–2012 school year.² This upward movement has been consistent, and contrary to the decline within the greater Catholic system. For example, on January 6, 2012, the archbishop of Philadelphia announced the closing of four high schools, and the closing and merging of 44 elementary schools.³ Meanwhile, the Jesuit high school of Philadelphia, Saint Joseph’s Prep, reported an increase in its enrollment, moving from a total of 982 students in the school year 2010–2011 to 994 in 2011–2012.⁴ Graduates of Jesuit high schools have come to be well represented among those who matriculate in the nation’s most selective and competitive colleges and universities.

That Jesuit high school graduates came to attend such institutions for their higher education was an early outcome of the above-mentioned identity crisis. Historically, it had been unheard of for Jesuit graduates to attend schools like Harvard, Yale, or Princeton

1. National Catholic Educational Association, Catholic School Trend Data, “Exhibit 16: Enrollment by Region,” United States Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools, 2012–2013, *Annual Statistical Report on Schools, Enrollment and Staffing*, <http://www.ncea.org/news/annualdatareport.asp>.

2. Jesuit Secondary Education Association (JSEA), *JSEA Annual Report 2011* (Washington, DC: JSEA), 2.

3. National Catholic Reporter, “Philadelphia Archdiocese Announces Major School Closings,” January 6, 2012, <http://ncronline.org/news/faith-parish/philadelphia-archdiocese-announces-major-school-closings>.

4. *JSEA Annual Report 2011*.

because the Jesuits wanted their students to enroll exclusively within their own secondary and higher education system. After contributing to the formation of the initial waves of immigrants, Jesuits were then free to pursue the order's foundational aim in their American context: the formation of a distinctive Catholic elite for America. To achieve this end, they would maintain their custom of not recommending high school students for non-Jesuit and non-Catholic higher education in order to extend their formational and influential contact with students. Their intention was to facilitate prolonged student engagement with classical languages, literature, rhetoric, philosophy, Catholic religion, and Jesuit example. This investment would yield elite Catholic gentlemen who would further the influence needed for the Jesuit mission for the world: the defense and propagation of the Catholic faith, all for the greater glory of God.

This vision to create sophisticated, influential leadership within Catholic America through traditional Jesuit schooling became complicated in the early 1900s through a volatile exchange between the presidents of Boston College and Harvard. The Jesuits were forced to respond to the charge that their system of education was anachronistic and inferior. In her study of this contentious encounter, Kathleen Mahoney highlights the resulting adaptations the Jesuits made after having “learned precisely what they had to fear: institutional tarnish and marginalization.”⁵ Because of “occasional judicious resistance and public adaptation by early-twentieth-century Jesuits to modern, Protestant-inspired

5. Kathleen Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 196-197. This conflict is more fully addressed in Chapter One.

education [they] gradually obtained for their successors a viable future for Jesuit higher education in the United States.”⁶

One might conclude based on Mahoney’s argument that the resulting viability of the colleges and universities affected Jesuit secondary schools, too. The adaptations meant to gain respect for Jesuit colleges and universities from their American counterparts had the added benefit of making Jesuit high school graduates acceptable candidates for the pursuit of elite non-Jesuit and non-Catholic university study. The data from the three elite universities before mentioned seems to affirm this interpretation. For example, graduates from the roughly 45 Jesuit high schools who enrolled at Harvard University demonstrate an upward trajectory from the postwar period to the present (see Table 1). In the class of 1940, there was one Jesuit high school graduate enrolled at Harvard, while in the class of 2000 that number climbed to 41, demonstrating a significant spike in Jesuit graduates attending the most selective university in the world. Early Jesuit graduates came to Harvard almost exclusively from Boston College High School, most likely because of a shared Boston location and certainly not from recommendation by Jesuits. In the later years, accepted students represented Jesuit schools from all parts of the nation.⁷ This was impressive because like Harvard and Princeton, Yale’s entire freshman class drew from nearly 200 more high schools in 2010 than in 1975, an outcome of the admission of women and increased global representation. This meant that the spike in the selection of Jesuit graduates occurred simultaneously with significantly greater competition (see Table 2), which made their growing enrollment even more remarkable.

6. Mahoney, *The Jesuits and Harvard*, 238.

7. Harvard University Archives, data collected from the Harvard Freshman Red Book and The Harvard Freshman Register, HUD 340.01-HUD 400.01.

Using Mahoney’s interpretation, rising Jesuit high school enrollment at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale demonstrated how Jesuit schools succeeded in responding to the call to adapt and how they were increasingly deemed worthy of consideration by such selective and elite universities. This trend has continued to be valid in the present moment. The April 18, 2012 front page of *The Boston Globe* featured a story about four Boston College High School seniors who were admitted to Harvard. In the story the *Globe* said of the Jesuit high school, “In becoming one of the city’s elite college-prep schools, it has opened its doors to students of many different races and ethnicities over the decades.”⁸ The *Globe* suggested that BC High was elite because of selection and diversity, but it mentioned nothing of the relationship between this elite identity and the school’s Catholic identity.

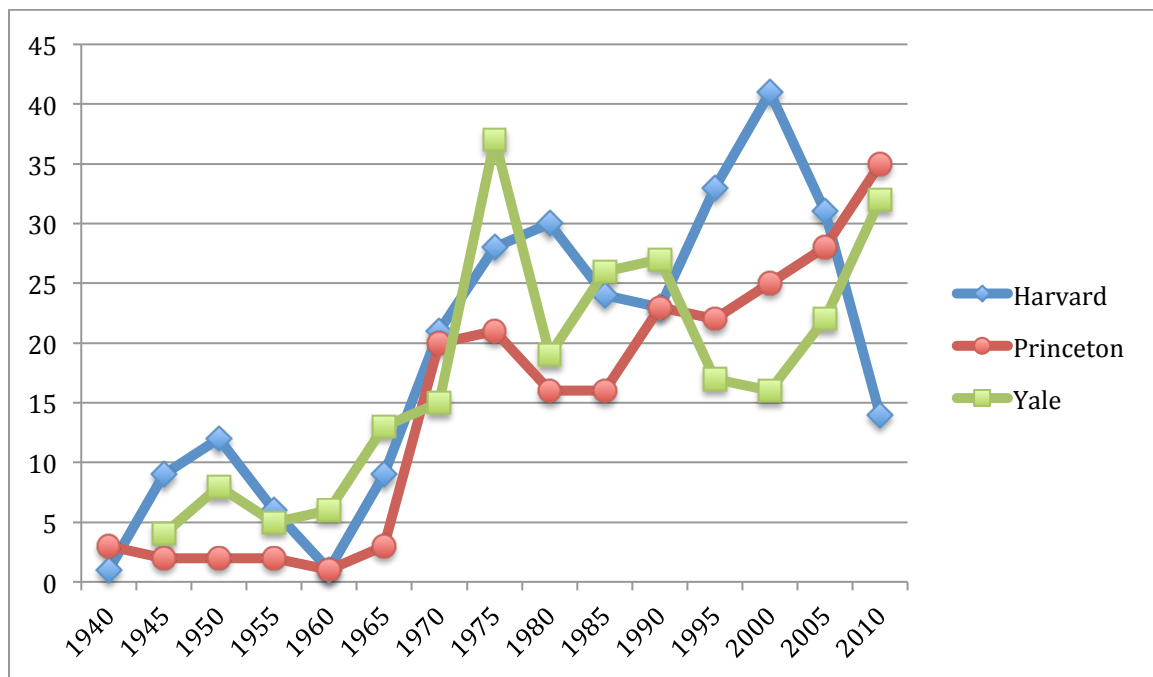


Table 1: Jesuit High School Graduates Enrolled at Harvard,^a Princeton,^b and Yale^c

8. Joseph P. Kahn, “Inclusion 2012: Headed To Harvard, Four BC High Classmates Share Bond of Diversity,” *Boston Globe*, April 18, 2012, http://www.boston.com/news/education/higher/articles/2012/04/18/four_harvard_bound_seniors_at_boston_college_high_school_have_redefined_their_schools_idea_of_what_diversity_and_inclusion_signify/.

- a. The Harvard University Freshman Red Book and The Register Harvard-Radcliffe, 1940–2010, Record of Freshman Entrance Classes, HUD 340.01-410.01 A, Harvard University Archives.
- b. The Freshman Herald, 1940–2010, Record of Freshman Entrance Classes, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
- c. The Old Campus, 1945–2010, Record of Freshman Entrance Classes, Yba3, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

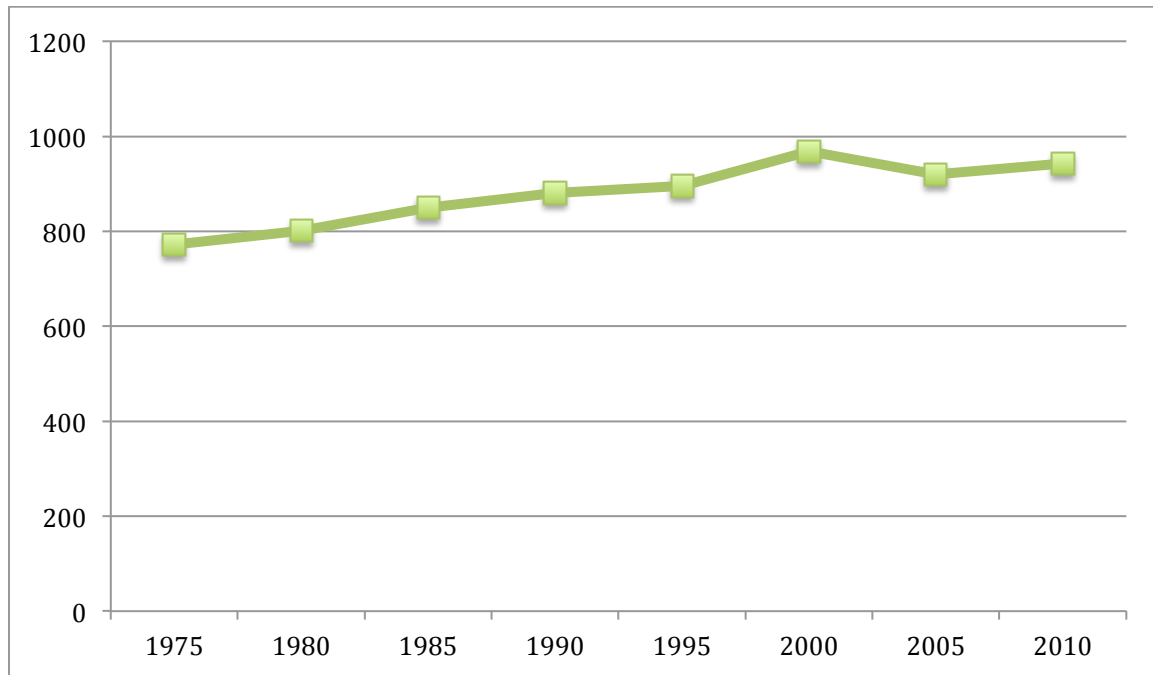


Table 2: Number of Secondary Schools Represented in Freshman Class at Yale^a

- a. The Old Campus, 1975–2010, Record of Freshman Entrance Classes, Yba3, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

While acknowledging this positive outcome from Jesuit adaptation, I suggest an added interpretation be considered from Jesuit high school graduates' increased presence at these prestigious universities. I argue that it wasn't an anachronistic curriculum that historically kept these graduates from being admitted and it wasn't merely Jesuit adaptation that enabled students to gain admission. In fact, as we shall see in Chapter One, the president of Boston College accused the president of Harvard of intending to raid the schools with the intention of taking excellent students for Harvard. That Jesuit high school graduates were historically almost completely absent from these elite institutions wasn't for

lack of intellectual ability. Rather, their absence was the outcome of Jesuits not allowing them to attend these schools, a reflection of a strategic plan to keep them within the Jesuit system in order to foster the creation of an influential Catholic elite in America. The difficulty that the Jesuits would soon encounter was that their students increasingly desired membership within the American elite, perhaps to the exclusion of having been formed for membership within the Catholic elite. The Jesuit high school was seen increasingly as an elite means to pursue this external end. Some Jesuits experienced this as a conflict for their Jesuit mission because the students' desired elite identity was in contrast to religiously elite identity that Jesuits intended. This contributed significantly to the crisis of identity for the Jesuits and their schools because, different from the earlier external Harvard critique, it came from within their own system and eventually, even from within the Jesuit community.

The dissertation seeks to explore these tensions and how the Jesuits came to understand what caused them and how they responded to them. Jesuit education was a part of the greater movement of Catholic education in America, which in the period considered here was in a general state of decline while the Jesuit system continued to grow. Scholar Jeffrey McLellan studied Catholic school enrollments from 1940–1995 and found three factors that contributed to what he saw as a gradual fall: Catholic suburbanization, changes in racial population in cities (the traditional location of Catholic schools), and the diminishment of women religious teaching in the Catholic system.⁹ Within the larger Catholic secondary school system, in which Jesuit schools are included, Cornelius Riordan

9. Jeffrey McLellan, "Rise, Fall, and Reasons Why: U.S. Catholic Elementary Education, 1940–1995," in *Catholic Schools at the Crossroads: Survival and Transformation* (henceforth cited as *Crossroads*), eds. James Youniss and John J. Convey (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000), 17.

described the enrollment pattern as “clearly and alarmingly downward.”¹⁰ In his study of those declining numbers he discovered that during the twenty-year period of 1972–1992 the Catholic school student population became more complex: economically elite, less Catholic, and more minority representative.¹¹ This differs from preceding years where “in those times past, the schools were also all-White, all-Catholic, and consensually more religious” (49). In 1992, nearly 50 percent of Catholic secondary school graduates came from upper-middle-class homes (48). He described this as “a 180-degree turnaround from all previous decades in the twentieth century. In those times, the schools were affordable, and consequently attended by students from all social classes” (49).

That Jesuit schools continued to expand in number and enrollment suggested immediately that they had come to serve a distinctive purpose within Catholic America, different from other schools within the Catholic system. What Riordan shows as a socially upward movement within Catholic high schools in general was even more pronounced in Jesuit schools in particular, which within Catholic circles were regarded as special. I argue that the religious eliting of Jesuit high schools was a phenomenon that became more pronounced in the post-World War II period and which gained greater momentum in the 1960s as it came to terms with students’ increasing desire for worldly success. It was within the 1960s that rivaling elite visions became contested within the Jesuit community and led to such strong division surrounding Jesuit identity. The dissertation explores how the

10. Cornelius Riordan, “Trends in Student Demography in Catholic Secondary Schools, 1972–1992,” *ibid.*, 33–34.

11. *Ibid.* Riordan collected data from three studies conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics that provided nationally representative samples: the 1972 National Longitudinal Study; the 1980 High School and Beyond Study; and the 1992 National Education Longitudinal Study. The data revealed both the numerical decline in Catholic enrollment and the growing economic and ethnic diversity within the Catholic system.

Jesuits navigated these challenges, sometimes failing and more often succeeding in the renewal of high schools.

Regarding the concept of eliting, I readily acknowledge religious historian Hugh McLeod's apt warning. "One thing which many writers in this field share, in spite of their numerous differences, is the search for a master-factor which will explain a cultural revolution that is both momentous and mysterious. I believe that this search is mistaken. The 1960s were explosive not because of one key ingredient, but precisely because so many currents of change, initially separate, interacted with one another. Most important was the impact of affluence, because the changing economic climate affected so many other aspects of people's lives, and opened up new possibilities."¹² The eliting of Jesuit high schools is not the lynchpin master-factor for understanding what happened to Jesuit high schools in the 1960s. However, it is my hope that the concept and its relationship to the other factors at work in this historical time period might contribute to a growing understanding of the significance of what happened to Jesuit education in such an important religious and cultural moment.

Until 1969, Jesuit high schools had been organized with Jesuit colleges and universities and sanctioned by one body, the Jesuit Educational Association (JEA). In postwar America, Jesuit institutions functioned as an independent network of schools through the JEA. Member schools within the JEA sometimes complained of neglect; Jesuit higher education tended to dominate the Association's publications and annual meetings. In 1970 high schools were "refounded" under a new separate organization known as the Jesuit Secondary Education Association (JSEA). The founding of the JSEA revealed

12. Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 15.

unprecedented and exclusive focus upon Jesuit high schools. The new organization ushered in greater emphasis on the professionalization of these secondary schools and it fostered a relationship with contemporary society through a social justice-based pedagogy, all of which formalized and contributed to the elitizing process, which itself was being transformed.

The Jesuits who founded the JSEA, charged by the Society of Jesus to create this new organization for Jesuit high schools, transformed a system of Jesuit schools that would now function democratically, as evidenced by the titles of the JSEA founding documents, the “Preamble” and “Constitution.” They abandoned the old structure, where the schools were organized under the bureaucracy of Jesuit province control, with one that favored a new, collaborative model as the formal way of proceeding in the governance of autonomous Jesuit secondary schools. Elitism professes that “only a few are qualified to rule—that is, to guide policy and make the basic decisions which must be made in any society.”¹³ In my interpretation, this powerful early leadership of the JSEA and the vision it created helped to propel the schools into an elite trajectory.

The process that led to the creation of the JSEA coincided with the monumental Second Vatican Council of the Catholic church. Its formulation was one aspect of the Jesuits’ contributive response to the council’s call for religious renewal. In his desire to reinvigorate the Catholic Church, Pope John XXIII convened the council, a worldwide gathering of all Catholic bishops, which opened on October 11, 1962. One of the council’s decrees, *Gaudium et Spes*, “The Church in the Modern World,” was particularly influential. Promulgated in 1965, it envisioned a Catholic Church that “always had the duty of

13. Harry K. Girvetz, “Elitism,” in *Democracy and Elitism: Two Essays with Selected Readings*, (New York: Scribner, 1967), 29.

scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel.” The church was to “recognize and understand the world in which we live, its explanation, its longings, and its often dramatic characteristics.”¹⁴ The warm receptivity to and the affirmation of the world in *Gaudium et Spes* influenced greatly the Society’s work as it formulated its own unique relationship with modernity within the context of this greater Catholic transformation. The new JSEA was a significant and influential dimension of the Jesuits’ overall response. In addition to the council, changes within the structures of the Society of Jesus stemming from the 1965 election of the new Jesuit father general, Pedro Arrupe, and the subsequent meetings of the Jesuit governing body, the General Congregation, also contributed to the transformation of Jesuits and their works.

Many Jesuits regarded Arrupe as the order’s second founder, for he articulated the acceptance of a new, more modern vision for the worldwide Society of Jesus to accompany the reforms of Vatican II. This perspective was rooted both in the historical foundations of the Society’s past, and a “preferential option for the poor” within Jesuit schools and the order’s other apostolic endeavors. The Jesuit’s general congregation instructed the order’s members to adjust their educational apostolates to emphasize this option in student admission to the schools. “Let students be selected, as far as possible, of whom we can expect a greater progress and a greater influence on society, *no matter to what social class they belong* [emphasis added].”¹⁵ Accompanying this new option in the schools was a mandate to diversify the student body and the historically classical curriculum, to soften both Catholic

14. Vatican Council II, “*Gaudium et Spes* [Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World],” in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Postconciliar Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery, O.P. (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing, 1986), 905.

15. “Apostolate of Education,” *Documents of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations of the Society of Jesus: An English Translation of the Official Latin Texts of the General Congregations and of the Accompanying Papal Documents*, eds. John Padberg, S.J., and Jesuits (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977), 231.

religious separation and the strict system of discipline, and to decentralize authority within school administrations. Such reforms were needed, according to Arrupe, because of his perception that Jesuit schools had failed to prepare students to challenge the elite structures that he believed to be unjust.¹⁶ At a July 31, 1973, gathering of high school alumni in Valencia, Spain, Arrupe criticized the Jesuit schools, asking, “Have we Jesuits educated you for justice? ... in all sincerity and humility: No, we have not.”¹⁷

In response to the manifestation of the 1960s crisis of social unrest, the general congregation instructed that Jesuit schools “should be receptive toward new forms of this [educational] apostolate, particularly adapted to the present age, and we should energetically investigate or fashion these new forms either in our own schools or elsewhere ... Superiors should favor research, experiments, the discovery of new methods of teaching.”¹⁸ The following general congregation, which met in late 1974 and early 1975, declared that Jesuits “must undertake a thoroughgoing reassessment of our traditional apostolic methods, attitudes and institutions with a view to adapting them to the new needs of the times and to a world in process of rapid change.”¹⁹

Jesuit schools thus found themselves in the difficult situation of navigating dual religious and elite identities. Arrupe’s vision suggested to some Jesuits in the United States that preference for the poor outweighed the order’s original foundational mission of building an influential Catholic elite. Other Jesuits believed the new vision was naive and

16. Pedro Arrupe, S.J., *Justice with Faith Today: Selected Letters and Addresses II*, ed. Jerome Aixala, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980), 125.

17. Arrupe, “Men for Others: Training Agents of Change for the Promotion of Justice, Address to the International Congress of Jesuit Alumni of Europe,” *ibid.*

18. “Apostolate of Education,” nos. 4, 13a, 229, and 233.

19. “Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice,” GC 32, decree 4, nos. 9, 413.

would destroy the years of effort to create effective educational institutions. What resulted were often irreconcilable differences within the Jesuit order, even within particular schools. Added onto this was the dramatic departure of Jesuits who were leaving the order, part of the exodus of priests, religious sisters and brothers worldwide as a result of the dramatic changes within the church. The tensions were especially fierce in the high schools because of the sweeping organizational changes instituted by the JSEA. Decreasing manpower, greater church change, and competing and contrary visions within the Jesuits produced a great deal of angst.

This study thus shows how Jesuit high schools, the most elite of Catholic secondary educational institutions, responded to the challenges of the 1960s, as they transformed the identity of both themselves and the communities they served in the process. First, by considering the historical contexts in which these changes occurred. Second, by examining the typical structures of American Jesuit high schools and how the schools developed corporately from the postwar period until the mid-1960s. Third, by considering the circumstances of emerging crisis and identity in Jesuit secondary education and the Jesuits' initial response, which would lead to the creation of the JSEA. Fourth, by investigating the historical components of the JSEA's foundation and implementation. Fifth, by exploring a case study of one Jesuit high school from the sixties and the failure and success it came to represent. The school explored, Campion Jesuit High School of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, was chosen because it closed in 1975 and the study of it could be likened to an autopsy. As a historian, I couldn't dissect other schools with the freedom I was afforded through Campion because when it shut down a superb archive was created that made for

an excellent research access. It was a boarding school so the issues the thesis explores were magnified because of the intensity that boarding school life brought to both Jesuits and students. It was also one of the Society's better high schools in America and in the tumultuous time this dissertation considers, Campion's Jesuits engaged practically everything that was pertinent to the times; their doing so highlighted the crises of identity for both schools and Jesuits. Campion, as a boarding school was therefore, an exception to the rule when considering American Jesuit secondary education because Jesuit schools tended not to have boarders. Even so, Campion simultaneously proves the rule because as a boarding school it gave of itself completely and the findings within it aptly apply to the entirety of American Jesuit secondary school history. Through Campion, the thesis reveals ultimately how Jesuit schools in America were simultaneously more elite and more mindful of the seemingly contradictory preferential option for the poor.

Chapter 1

Historical Contexts—Jesuit Contributions to Catholic Education in America

American Catholic historical roots stem from a heavy immigrant population, one that struggled not only with the issue of old-world nationalism and new American acclimation, but also with hovering suspicions around their Catholicity and the question of their capacity for American loyalty. Catholics in the United States were suspect because of “popery,” their allegiance to a religious governor across the ocean, and their anti-intellectual reliance upon revelation. “To be sure,” preached Nicholas Murray, the moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly of America, Irish Catholics “are the adherents of popery; and that the pope and his priests should permit these masses ... to remain in ‘bestial’ ignorance, the victims of the most gross deceptions, forms an argument against the system which all can see and feel.”¹

Along with other religious orders and dioceses, the Society of Jesus was instrumental in helping this Catholic population adapt to America. Its major contribution was in providing education for massive numbers of first- and second-generation immigrant Catholics as they adjusted to life in America in the first half of the twentieth century. James Hennessey notes that Catholic schools in America expanded quickly as a response to anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant nativism and that soon, “the parochial school became a fixture in parishes throughout the nation.”² With a large number of newly arrived

1. Nicholas Murray, “The Decline of Popery and Its Causes: An Address Delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle on Wednesday Evening, January 15, 1851,” in *Anti-Catholicism in America 1841-1851: Three Sermons* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 351.

2. James Hennessey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 109.

immigrants crowding cities and the negative reaction to their settlement, many immigrant families decided to keep their Catholic children away from what they perceived to be hostile, anti-Catholic public school classrooms. Nativism manifested itself in a variety of ways during this time. For these newcomers, as John Higham observes, “Americans have expected immigrants to move toward cultural homogeneity but not to crowd the social ladder in doing so. When a new group, relatively depressed at the outset, pushes upward rapidly in the status system, conflict almost surely ensues.”³

Catholic bishops meeting at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 responded to this hostility by mandating the creation of a separate Catholic school system, built upon their vision for every Catholic child in America to attend a Catholic school. Although the bishops’ decree was not implemented everywhere or uniformly, what did emerge eventually was a massive private-school system based entirely upon religious separation. Historian Jay Dolan describes this situation of Catholic schools as “unique not only in the world of Roman Catholicism, but also in the United States.”⁴ Sociologists Christopher Jencks and David Riesman interpret this Catholic life as not merely an American subculture; “it can also be viewed as a self-contained world, within which almost every other sort of American subculture finds embodiment and expression.”⁵

The creation of separate Catholic schools was an apparent success. When the bishop of Manchester, New Hampshire, spoke at Marquette University at a 1956 conference on education, Matthew Brady, known in that diocese as “Brady the Builder” for

3. John Higham, “Another Look at Nativism,” in *The Social Setting of Intolerance: The Know-Nothings, The Red Scare, and McCarthyism*, ed. Seymour J. Mandelbaum (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foreman, 1964), 60.

4. Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 242.

5. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 339.

his massive expansion of Catholic schools and parishes in New Hampshire, offered a reminder for the purpose of Catholic schooling. “To educate solely for ‘success’ in life when we mean by success, comfort, ease, luxury, esteem, power, is laudable to a degree ... material consideration alone cannot fulfill the longings, the ideals of man’s soul, for his spiritual nature cries out for fulfillment in a realm that is above and beyond the omnipresent and encroaching world about him.”⁶ For several generations, Catholics flourished in this distinct schooling system, which was designed to encourage religious formation, cultural assimilation, and the creation of an emerging influential elite that was both American and Catholic—a growing body of American-born Catholic doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and politicians. With regard to religious identity, this Catholic elite “tended to take a narrow view of their membership in the Church. Not only were they Americans first and Catholics second, but they were often lawyers or businessmen first and Catholics second.”⁷

By the end of the 1950s, Dolan argues, the process of adaptation was relatively complete; “Catholicism in the United States had clearly come of age ... Being Catholic was indeed compatible with being American.” As these institutions developed in the United States, at their foundation they both promoted and experienced themselves as firstly Roman Catholic and secondly, American. This institutional religious identity helped foster the unique aspect of what it meant to be Catholic and American, and in that order, so that Catholicity was both safeguarded and elevated in the cultural context. As adaption

6. Matthew F. Brady, “Why American Catholics Conduct Schools,” in *The Role of the Independent School in American Democracy: Papers Delivered at a Conference on Education, the Fifth in a Series of Anniversary Celebrations, May 8, 9, and 10, 1956* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1956), unmarked.

7. Jencks and Riesman, *Academic Revolution*, 339.

continued in the 1960s, Dolan describes the presence within American Catholicism of “strong undercurrents of reform” which pointed out “what most Catholics did not want to hear: the church of the immigrants, with its own unique style of devotional Catholicism, was no longer making it in the twentieth century. A new age and a new people demanded a new Catholicism.”⁸

The separate educational system that the immigrant church created needed ongoing adaptation too. Up until the 1960s, much of Catholic schooling retained its distinctively separate identity within American culture. For example, historian John McGreevey described the scene in the late 1930s, how “pervasive Catholic separatism—on philosophical matters and in schools, hospitals, and social organizations—posed an ‘integration’ problem. How would Catholics become democrats? ... Democracy was a culture, not a set of propositions. Catholics obviously lived *among* Americans, but were they *of* them?”⁹ While the greater cultural tension created by Catholic separation was a reality Catholics had to contend with, a benefit to this prolonged experience of separation afforded them, particularly through their schools, the opportunity to develop influential institutions, some of which eventually would become quite selective in their student body.

What divided the Catholic schools from the greater American system of education was not merely that they were religiously sponsored and focused. Non-Catholics found it odd that Catholic elementary school graduates went on to attend institutions that combined high school and college study. In other words, the Catholic system resisted the development of separate high schools. Catholic schools, including Jesuit schools, were

8. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 417.

9. John McGreevey, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 169.

modeled on the European Jesuit system, meaning that students would matriculate within them over a seven-year period, combining what is known today as both secondary and higher education. As Dolan describes, “This meant that the two major Catholic schools in the early-twentieth century were the elementary school and the college.”¹⁰

Missing from the system and, therefore, at odds within the American context was the newly emerged and distinctive high school. While American Catholics acclimated to life in the United States, their school structure did not. It wasn’t until the first decades of the twentieth century that the separated Catholic high schools began to thrive. Catholic educators knew that high schools needed to be established “if they [Catholics] were going to compete with what the public school educators were offering.”¹¹ The Jesuit system was criticized in particular for its nonadaptive position, most famously by Harvard’s President Charles Eliot, who served from 1869 until 1909. Kathleen Mahoney describes the crisis involving Harvard’s law school and its refusal to admit applicants whose degrees were granted by Jesuit colleges in the early 1900s. Eliot and the law school dean developed a policy in which law school applicants from Jesuit schools like Boston College would be admitted only to the sophomore year of Harvard College, suggesting that years of higher education at the Jesuit college were the equivalent of only one undergraduate year of study at Harvard.

The accusation of inflexibility by Jesuits within the American educational context was unique for, historically, adaptation to changing conditions had been a hallmark of Jesuit education. Unlike this particular moment of tension with Harvard, Mahoney argues

10. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 293.

11. *Ibid.*, 292.

that past experience of the Society revealed “a willingness to adapt their educational practices to the circumstances they [Jesuits] encountered.”¹² In its early years, efforts like Jesuit Matteo Ricci’s work in China, Francis Xavier’s mission to India, and Isaac Jogues’ labors in North America demonstrate the idealism of the early Society and its desire to enculturate global Jesuit apostolic works in order to achieve a more universal good through their efforts. It was a strategic intention on the early Jesuits’ part, for it enabled them, as their adage reveals, *to go in their door, and then come out ours*.

From their European beginnings, according to Jesuit historian John O’Malley, “some evidence suggests that the Jesuits had their eyes primarily on persons in high places.” Ignatius Loyola, the Basque who founded the Society of Jesus in 1540, was a nobleman. The social class of some of the first Jesuits, along with the fact that they studied at the prestigious University of Paris, “were among the factors that first elicited the curiosity, the forbearance, and then often the support of the powerful. The first Jesuits sought that elite support, for they saw in it the indispensable means of accomplishing their goals.”¹³ In the text of principles for governing the Society of Jesus, the *Constitutions*, Ignatius proposed that “the more universal the good is, the more it is divine. Therefore, preference ought to be given to those persons and places which, through their own improvement, become a cause which can spread the good accomplished to many others who are under their influence or take guidance from them.... For that reason, the spiritual aid which is given to important and public persons ought to be regarded as more important, since it is a more universal good. This is true whether these persons are laymen such as princes, lords,

12. Mahoney, *The Jesuits and Harvard*, 241.

13. John O’Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 71-72.

magistrates, or ministers of justice, or whether they are clerics such as prelates. The same also holds true of the spiritual aid which is given to persons distinguished for learning and authority, because of that same reason of its being the more universal good.”¹⁴ This vision contained within it the risk of a worldly temptation that inevitably Jesuits would sometimes entertain. O’Malley believes that “more lowly motivations were also at work. Some documents almost purr with satisfaction at favors received from those in high places.”¹⁵

Critical perceptions of some American educators like Eliot toward the Jesuit system saw within it a rigidity that yielded a failure to adapt. That Jesuits did not run separate high schools confused the overall landscape of American education, and made their colleges seem like extended high schools. Additionally, the curriculum that their system promoted was dismissed as archaic. A growing perception was that “students felt the classical curriculum irrelevant to their future occupation goals or that college delayed their entrance into the race for wealth.”¹⁶ Elite universities like Harvard had earlier abandoned the classical model in favor of the elective system. It was in 1883 that Charles Francis Adams Jr., the great-grandson of John Adams, addressed the Phi Beta Kappa chapter of Harvard, his alma mater. He presented a scathing critique of what he deemed to be the sickening worship of the supposed powers obtained from the study of the classics. He blasted Harvard for still requiring the study of “dead languages” when he matriculated there nearly thirty years earlier, and stated that he had been “incapacitated from properly developing

14. Ignatius Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Translated, with an Introduction and a Commentary*, by George E. Ganss, S.J. (hereafter cited as *Constitutions*), pt. 7, no. 622d-e (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 275.

15. O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 72.

16. Peter Dobkin Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1700–1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: New York University Press, 1982), 254.

my specialty ... The mischief is done.”¹⁷ Adams likened the idea of gaining imperceptible benefits of classical study to the spreading of manure, with manure being more successful; he observed that to actually produce a result, “manure must be laboriously worked into the soil, and made a part of it.” One would not, Adams argued, haul manure across a field for the soil to smell it and then expect to get results, “yet even that is more than we did, and are doing with Greek.” Adams’ intention was to place responsibility for the study of stinking classics “where I think it belongs—at the door of my preparatory and college education.”¹⁸

Such a scathing critique from a distinguished alumnus likely contributed to the university’s eventual abandonment of the classical curriculum in favor of an elective-based curriculum and the subsequent animosity toward the Jesuit plan. Eliot believed that the elective system was “key to training individuals to face specialized tasks responsibly, to develop character while, at the same time, confronting a specialized world ... By presenting students with a vast range of possibilities, they [Eliot and other educational leaders] were transforming the university into a model of the world.”¹⁹ Unlike the Jesuit system of a prescribed curriculum, it was through the exercise of choice, which was fast becoming an American educational ideal, that “President Eliot and the university reformers allowed their charges to discover the real consequences of their curricular choices, and through the possibilities offered by such freedom of choice, further to develop their capacities for responsibility” (256).

17. Charles Francis Adams Jr., *A College Fetish: An Address Delivered Before the Harvard Chapter of the Fraternity of the Phi Beta Kappa*, in *Sanders Theatre*, Cambridge, June 28, 1883 (Boston: Lee and Shepherd, 1884), 13.

18. *Ibid.*, 20.

19. Hall, *Organization of American Culture*, 255.

However, Jesuit educators saw within the elective structure a potential threat to the structured classical curriculum and impressive school network they had worked so hard to create. They were concerned that the allure of the elective system might encroach upon their distinctive Catholic clientele. This possible meddling hazard harkened back to earlier anti-Catholic reception that immigrants experienced in the common school classroom, which had been the motivator for the creation of separate Catholic schooling. Here, it seemed to suggest the dismantling of the very structure that had been created for protection. As Catholics advanced successfully in the intellectual life, their presence in non-Catholic schools became more attractive. "Eliot knew that the untapped reserves of talent and intelligence in the United States were as extensive as the nation's material resources, and that the future of Harvard ... and the nation itself depended on the ability of Harvard and other private institutions to recruit promising youth, regardless of social background" (257). Reeling from the law school debacle, Boston College President Fr. Read Mullan wrote to Eliot: "We wish only to have evidence that Harvard understands our worth, and that in all honesty it judges us according to our worth. The tenor of recent utterances at Harvard, official and professional, in public and in private, indicates a strong anti-Catholic spirit at Harvard, and justifies the suspicion that Harvard is making a determined effort to discredit all Catholic education in order to fill its halls more surely with Catholic students."²⁰ In a later letter, the final piece of correspondence between the two administrators, Mullan concluded "that you [Eliot] have determined to crush out

20. Read Mullan, S.J., to Charles Eliot, 11 January 1900, Harvard University Archives, UAI 5.150, Box 55.

Catholic education.”²¹ The result was an unwillingness of Jesuit high schools to recommend its graduates for schools like Harvard, a retrenchment back into distinctive separation. That only one Jesuit school graduate enrolled at Harvard in 1940 seems consistent with the response. The lack of Jesuit graduates was not limited to Harvard. Jerome Karabel notes that such exclusion of not only Catholics but also Jews was a commonplace among the Big Three: Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, and for quite some time. “At Princeton, whose country club reputation was not without justification, Catholics and Jews together made up only five percent of the freshmen in 1900; at Yale, which was in a city with a large immigrant population, the combined Catholic-Jewish population was just 15 percent in 1908. Even Harvard, which was in a dense urban area with large numbers of immigrants from Ireland and southern and eastern Europe, the Catholic proportion of the freshmen was nine percent in 1908 ...”²²

Raymond Schroth argues that this conflict between Eliot and the Jesuits was actually beneficial to the Society’s schools. Prior to the critique, the Jesuit course of studies “developed a man’s ability to criticize the work of others but not the desire or ability to create something new and personal of his own.”²³ Given the historical alienation and suspicion of Catholics in America, there was already a foundation of skepticism and sensitivity from Catholic leaders to non-Catholic authority, a tension which led to the creation of this distinctive Catholic education network. That such an extensive network of schools merely existed independent of public support was demonstrative of the Jesuits’

21. Ibid., 25 May 1900.

22. Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 23.

23. Raymond Schroth, S.J., *The American Jesuits: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 111.

creative force. That this system continued to grow was further evidence of the depth of this creativity.

Yet, the exchange with Eliot seemed inconsistent with the Society's historical way of proceeding. In an earlier context, the desire would have been to gain the confidence of someone powerful like Eliot so that his growing admiration for the Society would enable the Society to use his influence in the greater culture for the benefit of the Jesuits' own mission. In the context of the law school tension, the opportunity to influence an important and public person like Eliot at an important school like Harvard was missed. In Peter Dobkin Hall's view of New England institutional influence, this was most unfortunate. "One should not restrict one's attention to elites. The most compelling powerful dimension of the New England influence lay in its ability to penetrate all levels of society. Not only were New England-educated men conspicuous occupants of high judicial, legislative, and business positions—and hence, objects of emulation ... more importantly ... they were able to expand the loci of character education beyond New England to the common schools and churches and to the most humble settlements and their lowliest inhabitants."²⁴

Ultimately, Eliot's critique did penetrate even the Jesuits' level of American society, as it forced an initial series of reforms within the Jesuit system. In order to combat the negative publicity around its classical curriculum, and to improve public perception of Boston College, Father Mullan announced more rigorous standards for entrance into the college, and a preparatory program that would last for four full years, just like a typical America high school. The local Catholic newspaper, *The Pilot*, reported that the

24. Hall, *Organization of American Culture*, 93.

preparatory school, “which from its inception has enjoyed an unrestrained commingling with the collegiate department, is now confined exclusively to the southern wing of the college.”²⁵ The college division filled the northern wing and had been entirely remodeled in order to appear more attractive to potential students. The student newspaper, *The Stylus*, described how the high school and college students had separate entrances, “so that the collegian may now walk forth in the calm of manhood without fear of being hustled about by our small boys.”²⁶ It was a taste of adaptation, more of which was to come.

Jesuit Education: For Whom?

Historically, the target population for Jesuit schools centered upon those in whom the Society hoped to have the most influence, a pursuit of great intelligence and compassion meant to transcend distinctions between richer or poorer students. Not only did the Jesuits strive to influence others through their schools, but the students formed by the Society of Jesus also exerted an influence upon the Jesuits, perhaps foremost in that the Jesuits’ future work was particularly dependent upon vocations from among their students. O’Malley believes that the most important impact the schools had upon the Society was cultural and sociological, for the schools inserted Jesuits “into secular culture and civic responsibility to a degree unknown to earlier orders.” This encounter yielded a transformation “on the size of communities, on the practical demotion suffered by professed houses, on the implicit redefinition of aspects of Jesuit poverty when the vast majority of Jesuits began to live in endowed institutions, on a closer bonding with the

25. *Boston Pilot* 61 (September 10, 1898): 8.

26. *Boston College Stylus* 12, no. 7 (October 1898): 441.

socioeconomic elite.”²⁷ This growing relationship with powerful citizenry revealed a tension that required the Society’s sensitivity from its very foundation.

O’Malley describes how for the early members of the Society, “the ruling elite stood for order and stability, and the Jesuits came from social backgrounds that made it easy for them to identify with such values” (72). Special relationships with elites were fostered early in the order’s existence, with popes, kings, dukes, and emperors. However, their presence in Jesuit circles would be “grossly misleading if they are interpreted to mean that the Jesuits directed their ministries primarily to the social and cultural elite. Almost the opposite is true, most certainly until the schools were founded in some number” (71). Yet O’Malley admits that “although not social revolutionaries, the Jesuits in theory and practice supported improvement of status through education” (211). The curriculum of an early Jesuit school reflected this, for Ignatius Loyola adopted a humanistic course of study for the Jesuit schools, requiring that boys attain basic skills prior to their being admitted to the Jesuit school. Jesuit humanism formed upright character and contributed to the formation of behavior and future vision, rooted in a system of discipline that kept the channels of learning open. Though this provision had some exceptions, “it tended to exclude from Jesuit schools boys from the lower social classes, who had little opportunity otherwise to learn the skills prerequisite to admission” (211-12).

Nonetheless, as O’Malley observes, “One of the most striking features of the early Jesuits is the wide variety of people to whom they ministered, including many of the poor and outcast” (72). Yet as their European schools developed, “it never occurred to them that they should make concerted efforts to break down traditional roles and class structures....

27. O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 374-75.

They depended for the endowment of their schools on the wealthy and powerful. They opened their schools, however, to all who were qualified and who would abide by their rules. They were to be ‘for everybody, poor and rich,’ Ignatius enjoined upon the Jesuits in Perugia in 1552” (211). As the Jesuit schools expanded on a large scale, and with significant physical plants to maintain, they required a great deal of energy and talent. “This meant that an increasing amount of Jesuit energy would be spent on adolescent boys. Those boys were often, but by no means exclusively, drawn from the middle and upper classes of society.... From these classes of society, moreover, the Jesuits would tend to attract their own new members” (240-41).

It is from this historical context that the development of elite American Jesuit high schools would evolve. Early generations of American students at Jesuit schools benefited from improved social status through the Jesuit education they received. This momentum of upward mobility increased in later generations, particularly as legacies of families developed. While a Jesuit high school is not on the same level of wealth and social status as a Choate or Groton, prestigious and highly selective American secondary schools, it is distinctive in its shared formational outcomes for students. As Jerome Karabel describes, the Groton ethos was committed to “the nurturance of Christian gentlemen: men whose devotion to such virtues as honesty, integrity, loyalty, modesty, decency, courtesy, and compassion would constitute a living embodiment of Protestant ideals.”²⁸ This Christian gentleman of Groton seems very much like the gentleman of Campion, the Jesuit’s boarding school in rural Wisconsin. Promotional literature from 1941 described the ideal graduate of the Jesuit high school “as thoughtful of others as he is forgetful of himself. His every thought is

28. Karabel, *Chosen*, 32.

to make others happier and better for having dined with him, played with him, worked with him, lived with him. Such was Christ—the perfect gentleman. Such was blessed Edmund Campion, that gallant gentleman, saintly scholar, and fearless hero of Christ; and such may you always be—Knight of Campion and Knight of Christ.”²⁹ The formation goal of a gentlemen affirms the identity of an elite, as described by C. Wright Mills: they “may also be defined in terms of psychological and moral criteria, as certain kinds of selected individuals. So defined, the elite, quite simply, are people of superior character and energy.”³⁰

What is meant by this notion of emerging elitism at the American Jesuit school? It is slightly different from the political science understanding of the term. In his consideration of the theory of democratic elitism, Peter Bachrach observes that while on the surface seemingly contradictory, democracy and elitism coexist. The elite protect the social system against the masses. In a democracy, elites do not gain their position from heredity or privilege but from education and are regarded “not only as the energetic and creative forces of society, but, above all, as the source which sustains the system.”³¹

Therefore, schools naturally exist as the building blocks for the continued development of the elite in society. Though Catholic education grew out of exclusion in the United States, its system, and in particular the Jesuit schools within it, soon came to contribute to the elite structure of American culture. A 1993 study that considered Catholic schooling and public funding affirms this understanding. Anthony Bryk, Valerie Lee, and Peter Holland

29. *Good Manners*, brochure (Prairie du Chien, WI: Campion Jesuit High School, 1941).

30. Mills in Girvertz, *Democracy and Elitism*, 311 (see intro, n. 13).

31. Peter Bachrach, *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique* (New York: University Press of America, 1980), 8.

addressed two nonreligious arguments that have been used against public support of Catholic schools, “first that such schools are socially divisive and, second, that they are elitist.”³² Here exists a negative charge of Catholic elitism: that such separatist schools are “seeking out students who are easier to educate and leaving the remainder to the public sector” (340). While their research finds such an accusation ungrounded, they acknowledge that Catholic schools promote emerging elitism among students. “Many of these students are likely to move into powerful positions in society as adults and, as a result, will have disproportionate influence in the shaping of American culture” (341).

Jesuit Neil McCluskey observed these arguments against Catholic separatism at work decades earlier than the 1993 study. “The charge of divisiveness laid at the doors of the parochial schools is a serious one and must be fairly faced by proponents of a separate system of schools for Catholic children. Catholics, for the most part, find it impossible to conceive of themselves as a threat. They are generally unconscious of the anxiety which at times they occasion in their Protestant and non-Christian neighbors by the display of their organized strength. Many outsiders, looking at the Catholic Church, see nothing but the closed ranks of a great power structure. And when in the social order they brush against the strong cohesiveness of the Church’s selective conscience, they recoil at what seems to them a threat to their civic and religious rights. Since they rightly see in the schools the source of this strength, they raise the issue of parochial school education.”³³

32. Anthony Bryk, Valerie Lee, and Peter Holland, *Catholic Schools and the Common Good* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 339.

33. Neil G. McCluskey, S.J., *Catholic Viewpoint on Education* (Garden City, NY: Hanover House, 1959), 36-37.

The transformation that led to the emerging elite Jesuit high school was gradual. In its early inception, in American Catholic separatism, the formation of a boy at a Jesuit high school was designed to create the Catholic gentleman, considered earlier in the Campion example: rooted in the classics, eloquent, and devoted to the Church. In an editorial, students at Boston College in 1899 described how as gentlemen they were “essentially placed in a religious atmosphere; but this does not mean that we are made pious idiots. It simply means that the student can hardly become dulled, where every day he individually consults men whose lives are examples of self-sacrifice, of noble Christian manhood.”³⁴ Later external factors, like the GI Bill and accompanying postwar mobility, certainly contributed to this emerging elite, too.

The Campion and Boston College examples contrast significantly with the formation affirmed by the later vision established by the JSEA, which recognized that Jesuit high schools had changed. Now their aim was the production of the socially-concerned Christian, socially sophisticated and, perhaps unintentionally, socially elite. The movements that fostered this transformation initially were unstable. James DiGiacomo, a Jesuit who has taught at both Regis High School and Fordham University in New York City, wrote extensively on the religious life of 1960s teenagers. In his 1972 work, *We Were Never Their Age*, he sat with a Jesuit high graduate who reflected upon his recently completed high school experience. “Few come to Prep because it is a Catholic school. Most come because it has prestige and a name. They feel that a Prep diploma gets them into college, and that a good college diploma will get them a good job and a whole lot of money.

34. *Boston College Stylus* 13, no. 8 (January 1899): 47.

These values don't relate to religion. Everyone is trying to get ahead by going to a 'name' school and the Catholic Church really has little to do with it."³⁵

Emerging elitism brought with it cultural and religious changes that forced American Catholics to reexamine the relationship between their American and Catholic identities through institutions like Catholic schools. *Time Magazine* cultural critic William Henry explores the social tension in the United States since World War II, and notes that "nearly every great domestic policy has revolved around the poles of elitism and egalitarianism."³⁶ He holds that there were underlying motives for '60s radicalism and that "many of its most aggressive proponents were those who felt the deepest elitist yearnings" (25). In his argument, Henry acknowledges that elitism contradicts the most nearly universal American ideal, the belief in upward mobility (23). Yet it seems that in the American Jesuit high school context, upward mobility was motivated by a desire to become socially elite.

This assessment is suggestive of the transformation facilitated by elitism, and the complications that Jesuit schools encountered as they shepherded their schools through the tumultuous 1960s and early 1970s. Acknowledging the greater social context and the many historical factors at work within this time period is crucial in understanding how the schools transformed.

The Problems of Periodization: Cultural, Political, and Religious Dimensions

The 1960s represent a major turning point for Catholic schooling because of American cultural and religious crises that challenged all traditional institutions. The

35. James DiGiacomo, *We Were Never Their Age* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1972), 156.

36. William Henry, *In Defense of Elitism* (New York: Anchor Books, 1995), 12.

upheaval of the civil rights movement, the sexual revolution, the freedom to question authority, and the challenge of poverty and urban decline are all significant components of the cultural 1960s. Simultaneously, the religious updating called for by the Vatican Council intended to assist Catholics in their ability to function successfully and effectively in this new world that was suddenly more liberal and radically active. As James O'Toole describes, it was "a distinct new age. Many lay people came to describe themselves as 'Vatican II Catholics,' a designation that marked their movement beyond the religious world of their parents and grandparents."³⁷

As witnesses of these movements within faith and society, American Catholics began to explore more freely the relationship between their American and Catholic identities. The possibilities of liberalism, stemming from President John F. Kennedy's New Frontier to Johnson's Great Society, with the potential of *aggiornamento* (updating) in the church produced great enthusiasm and expectation among American Catholics.

These potentials were also the source of tremendous anxiety and disillusionment, a religious echo of what historian James T. Patterson observes within greater American society, noting that President Johnson's vision suffered from "oversell," and that "hyperbole about the Great Society aroused unrealistic popular expectations" that would come to haunt American liberalism.³⁸ Likewise for Catholics, religious renewal and Arrupe's idealized preferential option for the poor promised sweeping changes blending

37. James O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 201.

38. James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 590. Additionally, J. Anthony Lukas offers a sobering view of what the desire for common ground in the new society came to look like through the integration process in the Boston Public Schools. See *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986).

together the social and religious fabric, which ultimately proved difficult to achieve in practice.

Public and Catholic schools were often the venues where such new ideas were tested. Unfortunately, historians of Catholicism have paid relatively little attention to how the upheavals of the 1960s played out in Catholic schools. Increasingly elite American Catholics began to question the value of religious separation in the schools and concluded that strict separation no longer benefited the Catholic community. The internal religious world that Catholic authorities established generations earlier was now facing a crisis of disillusionment. The result was confusion about what constituted a Catholic institution within an American context. As Robert Orsi describes, the crisis “provoked resistance and confusion, and in turn this resistance in the parishes to the new agenda heightened the resolve of its advocates. The result was a season of iconoclasm in the American church, more or less severe and traumatic depending on local circumstances. Old devotions were derided as infantile, childish, or as exotic imports from Catholic Europe, alien and inappropriate in the American context.... Sacrilege suddenly emerged as a popular genre of Catholic expression in the United States.”³⁹

In 1971, historian James Hitchcock criticized what he saw as the progressive Catholic population’s rejection of Catholic institutions, a movement he feared was severely compromising American Catholic identity. “Without institutionalization—of belief, of piety, of organization, of love—the Church can never be more than an ineffective, ephemeral

39. Robert Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 57.

reality.”⁴⁰ Schools in particular began to experiment with their identities, curricula, and leadership, struggling to remain relevant to a changing student body.

The historical context in which all of this occurred is complicated. Scholars have offered significantly different interpretations of this time in history—a frequent debate being the value of considering the decades themselves as useful frameworks of periodization for study. What popular culture names separately as “the sixties” and “the seventies” seems an attempt to simplify a rather unruly historical period in past America. Religious historian Hugh McLeod recommends the concept of a “long 1960s, lasting from about 1958 to 1974. In the religious history of the West these years may come to be seen as marking a rupture as profound as that brought about by the Reformation.”⁴¹

Some scholars hold that “the sixties” began with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 and concluded with the resignation of Richard Nixon in 1974.⁴² Others grapple with the period as predominantly a “seventies” phenomenon, framing that particular decade as the key interpretive lens for understanding what was happening in American culture. This school of thought considers the 1970s as nurturing a narcissistic and apathetic citizenry while another perspective finds the decade as preparation for what some scholars perceive as the great American revival of the 1980s with the emergence of the global economy.

Other scholars call attention to the end of the sixties as the end of the prosperous post-World War II era and therefore, the logical focus for historical attention. The postwar

40. James Hitchcock, *The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), 131–32.

41. Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.

42. Philip Jenkins, *Decade of Nightmares* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4.

baby and financial booms had their origins in a liberalism that positively valued the presence of big government in a variety of facets of American life. “The federal government permeated nearly every aspect of American life in the 1950s and 1960s—guaranteeing civil rights and voting rights for African Americans, sending astronauts to the moon, subsidizing farmers, regulating air travel, and uncovering the dangers of smoking.”⁴³

In his schema, Bruce Schulman sees the year 1968 as the break between the sixties and the seventies. In that decisive year, Schulman sees two major events as being the key to understanding the major cultural shift which yielded a growing disfavor among Americans toward their government. The first was the January 30, 1968 Tet Offensive in the Vietnam War and the resulting failure in American military strategy. Just prior to the offensive, only 28 percent of Americans opposed the war in Vietnam while twice as many supported it. One month later, the movements both for and against the war saw an even split at 40 percent. The Johnson administration was losing credibility in the eyes of many Americans (7). The second event was the response of Chicago mayor Richard Daley to the preparations for the city’s hosting of the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Daley promised organizers that there would be law and order during the event and he assembled 12,000 city police, 6,000 National Guardsmen, 6,000 army troops, and 1,000 undercover intelligence agents from the FBI and CIA (12).

Schulman sees these two moments as transformative especially among the nation’s youth, particularly with regard to their perception of the greater culture. These events of 1968 produced frustration and alienation among the young and a desire to abandon “the

43. Bruce Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 5.

polluted, corrupt mainstream and live according to one's values. Young Americans believed they could do it right, without the phoniness and hierarchy, the profit and power, the processed food and three-piece suits, the evening news and suburban ranch house. They could build alternative institutions and create alternative families—a separate, authentic, parallel universe” (16-17).

Andreas Killen describes 1973 as that decade's pivotal year, a time in American life of “shattering political crisis and of remarkable cultural ferment.”⁴⁴ He cites the end of the war in Vietnam and the significance of the first military defeat for the United States, the Watergate scandal and subsequent resignation of Richard Nixon from the presidency, and the economic complications stemming from the Arab oil embargo and growing stagflation as the circumstances highlighting the significance of 1973.

Alternatively, Killen names the Watergate scandal as the source for “the breakdown of traditional patriarchal authority” in American culture in general. The revelation of dishonesty produced an overwhelming sense of suspicion which, according to Killen, trickled down through the structures of society. The result was the destabilization of the whole system of relationships between government and citizens, men and women, parents and children.⁴⁵ For Philip Jenkins, this breakdown was slow and gradual. “Despite all the changes under way by the mid 1960s, most Americans carried on with their familiar lives, going to the same jobs and schools as they might have done in any other era. By the end of the decade, though, political conflicts and social changes were having a direct impact beyond the political elites and the major cities. At the height of the turmoil, between 1967

44. Andreas Killen, 1973 *Nervous Breakdown: Watergate, Warhol, and the Birth of Post-Sixties America* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2006), 2.

45. *Ibid.*, 55.

and 1971, there were real fears of mass social conflict and even a collapse of the social order. Following the urban race riots of mid-decade, talk of open race war did not seem fanciful.”⁴⁶

Edward Berkowitz sees general disillusionment among 1970s Americans and a lack of consensus among historians as to how to interpret the decade. Despite key legislation in education, health-insurance, and civil rights, most Americans “believed that the laws had made things worse rather than better and that policy-makers needed to come up with new approaches in all of these areas. If the sixties were the age of ‘great dreams,’ the seventies were a time of rude awakenings” and diminishing expectations.⁴⁷ John A. Andrew III, a scholar of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society, observes that the problem of the era was disenchantment. “Perhaps Americans always wanted a quick fix; perhaps the president [Johnson] had oversold the antipoverty program; perhaps the appearance of a more strident militancy among civil rights groups, youthful activists, and antiwar protestors led middle-class voters to value social peace over social change.”⁴⁸

Culturally, television was gaining significant influence as a pastime for entertainment. In 1973 the first reality television show emerged, *An American Family*, “documenting both the sense of crisis within familiar order and the larger crisis of authenticity.”⁴⁹ This twelve-part series followed the Louds, a family of seven who agreed to have video cameras placed within their homes to document their daily life. The family represented what Nixon named the “silent majority,” the growing and increasingly affluent

46. Jenkins, *Nightmares*, 24.

47. Edward D. Berkowitz, *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 4, 162.

48. John A. Andrew III, *Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998), 76.

49. Killen, *Nervous Breakdown*, 55.

white middle-class. The series quickly became a sensation with eleven million viewers following the drama, “crystallizing anxieties about divorce, women’s lib, new sexual mores, and the generation gap.”⁵⁰ It was a time of tremendous upheaval for a whole range of institutions.

Social commentator and journalist Tom Wolfe, who observed the seventies as they were happening, contrasts the movement from the sixties to the seventies. From his perspective, American concern moved from political transformation to personal makeover, centered upon personal rights. He is credited with naming this period as the “Me Decade,” concluding, as described by Berkowitz, that “the rights revolution demonstrated what was wrong with the era. People clamoring for their rights were acting in a self-absorbed, hedonistic, narcissistic, selfish, and uncompromising manner. The rights revolution represented a retreat away from the social purpose that marked the liberal postwar era.”⁵¹ Wolfe believes that the affluence of the postwar years was producing an unprecedented yet unsustainable level of prosperity. The outcome of that untenable growth led people to self-preoccupation. “The crash-landing of the seventies,” writes Killen, left Americans “turning inward, in search of the purely personal ‘alchemical dream’ of changing one’s personality.”⁵²

Schulman described how this introspection affected gender roles. In the face of feminism, a shifting masculinity produced instability because of the uncertainty surrounding what American society thought of being a man. This created what the magazine *Esquire* named as the “Postponing Generation,” young men who insisted on

50. Ibid., 60.

51. Berkowitz, *Something Happened*, 158.

52. Killen, *Nervous Breakdown*, 113.

freedom and independence. “They feared responsibility and worried about stress. They did not want the heart attacks, the ulcers, the nervous breakdowns of their own Organization Man fathers.”⁵³

David Burner describes the status of 1960s liberalism as ironic.⁵⁴ “The momentum in civil rights, the extensions of the welfare state, the transformations that the Second Vatican Council was making in Roman Catholicism, an apparent brightening and sophistication in popular culture all promised a large future for liberalism. Yet liberalism only survived the era divided, confused, and devastated” (10).

In the world of education, the model for schooling in the United States was under pressure for dramatic transformation. Burner described what some experienced as “an aloof academic style that appeared to deny the connection between discussion of a moral issue and acting on it ... The situation that arose in the sixties, then, [Vietnam, civil rights] could not help but foster mutual misunderstanding and rage among politically active students, genteel professors, and bewildered administrators” (135).

A significant catalyst for the changes that occurred during this historical period was Lyndon Johnson’s visionary Great Society, with its legislative components that Johnson believed would strengthen the United States by reforming the very building blocks that structured society: education, housing, healthcare, and communication. There was much within Johnson’s Great Society programming that emphasized the advancement of schooling in America, for he perceived education to be the great equalizer for and gateway

53. Schulman, *Seventies*, 182.

54. David Burner, *Making Peace with the 60s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 4. For him, 1960s liberalism is “a persuasion founded in the New Deal, leavened by a concern for civil liberties and at least a mild concern for civil rights.”

to social advancement and opportunity. As a former teacher in poverty-stricken southern Texas, he had firsthand experience of the problems in education, and a desire to help remedy them. Earlier, Kennedy had wanted to legislate more in education, building upon the earlier National Defense Education Act of 1958, but his Catholicism was seen as a hindrance to such development. Andrew notes that Kennedy was sensitive to the issue of aid to parochial schools. “With anti-Catholic rumors circulating that the Statue of Liberty was about to be renamed Our Lady of the Harbor, John Kennedy wished to avoid any hint that administration policies would privilege Catholics.”⁵⁵

Johnson’s administration side-stepped the potential tension of the church-state issue by tying federal aid to students rather than to specific schools through what became known as the child-benefit theory. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided federal aid for education, with much emphasis upon financially poor children, and in that year alone federal funds to support elementary and secondary education nearly tripled.⁵⁶ Higher education legislation provided loans and scholarships for college students.

A common perception is that Great Society programming centered exclusively upon its “War on Poverty.” Yet there was much legislation that benefitted the middle class. David Burner highlights Medicare, higher education loans and scholarships, the establishment of the Kennedy Center in Washington and the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities as well as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting as Great Society works that contributed to the greater American culture.⁵⁷

55. Andrew, *Great Society*, 116.

56. *Ibid.*, 120.

57. Burner, *Making Peace*, 178–79.

Still, the lasting interpretation was that Johnson's visionary program was a behemoth, a mismanaged political failure. John A. Andrew holds that the major problem for Johnson's dream for society was that it was arrogant, too simplistic, and that ultimately, Americans became disenchanted with such idealism in the face of such a complicated reality.

Perhaps what was most controversial and complicated within the visionary restructuring of American society was the desire for integrated housing. The urban crisis was fast becoming the central social issue. Burner cites one example in Chicago, where the Gage Park-Chicago Lawn area had a population which was 90 percent Roman Catholic. Within the neighborhood of 28,244 residents there were two blacks.⁵⁸ When the Kerner Commission, an advisory group established by Johnson to investigate the causes of the 1960s race riots in American cities, issued its report in March 1968, "white racism" was singled out as the chief cause of the crisis. The racism inherent within the segregation of neighborhoods was one factor that contributed to the emerging system of segregated neighborhood schools. The process of desegregation of schools became federally legalized in 1971 with the Supreme Court case, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg*. It was this court decision that legally justified busing students from one neighborhood to another as a remedy for the racial imbalance in public schools, the intention being to transform the experience of the next generation through exposure to greater diversity in the classroom.⁵⁹ Reaction to government-supported busing produced another crisis in American culture. For example, in Boston the white population in the city's public schools dropped as white

58. Ibid., 181.

59. Berkowitz, *Something Happened*, 175.

parents transferred nearly half of the city's white students to private, parochial, or suburban schools (176).

Tom Wolfe observed that Americans in the seventies were experiencing religious transformation in what he coined a "third great awakening," following a pattern of religious renewal similar to earlier religious revivals in the United States (160). Religion became increasingly important during the decade, according to historian Leo Ribuffo, with the number of Americans reporting this as true for themselves rising from 14 percent in 1970 to 44 percent in 1978 (161). Berkowitz noted that "religious conviction, in America's politely tolerant postwar society, was something always present but seldom mentioned except in the ritual endings to political speeches and in the invocations of religious leaders for religious tolerance.... In the seventies, those sorts of inhibitions ended, and all sorts of famous people in the mainstream rather than religious careers announced for Christ, including politicians like Jimmy Carter" (160).

Catholic historian Mark Massa considers the particular Catholic movement within the cultural framework of the American sixties and seventies. He sees clearly that the religious understanding within American social history is a significant dimension of American social life, and takes issue with the "denominational" label which seems to dismiss or at least ostracize American cultural history as a whole. According to Massa, "Such a dismissal in fact impoverishes our understanding of the larger cultural event of 'the sixties' precisely because for many Americans, and not just American Catholics, that era was refracted through religious no less than political, social, and cultural issues."⁶⁰ In

60. Mark Massa, S.J., *The American Catholic Revolution: How the Sixties Changed the Church Forever* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), xii.

fact, one can see how the Great Society, coupled with Roman Catholicism's Second Vatican Council, produced an overwhelming dose of idealism for American Catholics. It was simply too much, in terms of the realm of possibility. In hindsight, perhaps one might say the same for Catholics as for Americans in general, when Andrew concludes that the Great Society struggled because of "its lack of understanding and appreciation for the challenges it confronted. Once Americans saw the scope of the task, its complexity and costs overwhelmed them. The problems remained, the debates continued; but with the consensus frayed, the economy in decline, and the social fabric apparently unraveling, the national will atrophied."⁶¹

For Robert Orsi, any significant study of this historical period must acknowledge this apparent unraveling, in order to detect the different components that blend between religion and society. "It is better ... to think of the historical period at issue ... as a braided one: many Catholics moved to the suburbs, many others moved into city neighborhoods or held fast there, some members of a family entered the white-collar workforce while others continued in industry and manual labor ... Braiding means that the linear narratives so beloved of modernity—from immigration to assimilation, from premodern to modern, from a simple faith to a more sophisticated faith and so on—are not simply wrong but that they mask the sources of history's dynamics, culture's pain, and the possibilities of innovation and change. Braiding alerts us to look for improbable intersections, incommensurable ways of living, discrepant imaginings, unexpected movements of

61. Andrew, *Great Society*, 199.

influence, and inspiration existing side by side—within families and neighborhoods, as well as psychological, spiritual, and intellectual knots within the same minds and hearts.”⁶²

What Massa names as the Catholic Sixties he sees as beginning in 1964, “when the first (and arguably most dramatic) implementation of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (the reform of the celebration of the Mass) reached American shores.”⁶³ Like Schulman, Massa considers 1968 as a critical year for study of the sixties but with different focus for the year’s significance. While Schulman draws attention to the Tet Offensive and the Democrats’ Chicago convention as key events, Massa focuses upon a event within American history as crucial for what he names as the American Catholic Revolution. What is now known in history as “the Catonsville Nine” began in the afternoon of May 17, 1968, with a group of seven men and two women who gathered in Catonsville, a suburb of Baltimore, Maryland. Their intention was to enter the office of the Selective Service Board 33, housed on the second floor of the K. of C. Hall, in order to destroy draft cards (103). Massa holds that this event, with its mix of laity, religious, and priests, “represented the moment when the American Catholic engagement with history, and particularly the Catholic place in American history, entered into an identity crisis from which it has yet to fully emerge” (124).

“After the Catonsville Nine the American Catholic past wasn’t what it used to be” (128). What took place in Maryland was revolutionary in that it represented a profound change for American Catholic identity. Before Catonsville, Massa notes, “Catholics in the United States had always been taught, or at least been taught since the massive waves of

62. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth*, 9.

63. Massa, *Catholic Revolution*, xiii.

Catholic immigration began in the mid-nineteenth century, that being American and Catholic were balanced and complementary value systems: to be a good (practicing) Catholic was also to be a faithful (law-abiding) citizen” (112). This emerging Catholic self-understanding “announced the severing of that century-old and carefully woven cord that tied being a ‘good’ Catholic to respect for law and order and an unhesitating support of U.S. foreign and military policy. A new cultural identity was born in Catonsville, and the fact that so many of the Catonsville protesters were priests or religious played an important part in legitimating that new identity. Priests and nuns were by definition good Catholics; indeed they were super Catholics because of their lives of heroic celibacy” (113-14). This new cultural identity was the incarnation of what Jesuit scholar Walter Ong had described a decade earlier in *American Catholic Crossroads*. Contemporary American Catholics were different from their earlier generations. Their vocation was “not to be exclusive, not to be provincial, parochial, but to be open, conciliatory, unifying, via-a-vis the entirety of the human race.... The Catholic vision is a vision which opens lines of communication ... the desire to close them, to keep to ourselves” would be to revert to isolationism.”⁶⁴ As historian James O’Toole describes in his study of Boston Cardinal William O’Connell, the new American Catholic identity was one where “the church would abandon its self-description [as] a ‘mystical body,’ directed always by its head, and define itself instead as ‘the people of God’ ... a more democratic image in which the lines of power were blurred.”⁶⁵

Trends in Education

64. Walter J. Ong, S.J., *American Catholic Crossroads: Religious-Secular Encounters in the Modern World* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), 58.

65. James O’Toole, *Militant and Triumphant: William Henry O’Connell and the Catholic Church in Boston, 1859-1944* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 257.

In the transformation of Jesuit high schools, Jesuit administrators were very much interested in greater American educational movements, looking for external insights that might benefit their own work in schools. As described above, the 1960s brought sweeping changes to American society and the classroom became an important battleground for these transformations. This was true both for the public and private school. Many different schools of thought were in vogue for classroom management but the common current running through all of them was an underlying criticism of top-down management of the classroom and a need for shared governance without any central authority. The educational world was filled with grass-roots experimentation. Paulo Freire, a Brazilian Catholic educator and theorist, developed a radical pedagogy focusing on the injustices of the oppressed. It was based upon what he named as the “teacher-student contradiction,” and suggested a resolution for what he saw as an oppressive, unequal relationship within the classroom. Freire quickly became a global authority on contemporary educational theory. When his work was translated into English in 1970 it soon began its quick ascent among English-speaking educators. He advocated “revolutionary leadership” which would practice “*co-intentional education*.”⁶⁶ He envisioned classrooms where both students and teachers are “co-intent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality” (69). This new pedagogy revealed an egalitarian vision for learning, proposing that “through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with student-teachers” (80).

Ivan Illich, a former Catholic priest from Austria who once served poor Puerto Rican immigrants in New York City, was a prolific writer and social critic of institutions

66. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2000), 79–80.

and schooling. A graduate of the Jesuit Gregorian University in Rome and a joint professor at the University of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania State University, Illich declared religious schools as socially divisive and advocated for their abolishment in their current form. “The mood among some educators is much like the mood among Catholic bishops after the Vatican Council. The curricula of so-called ‘free schools’ resembles the liturgies of folk and rock masses.”⁶⁷ Illich paralleled the authority of the Church with the authority of schooling. He lamented that “children are protected by neither the First nor the Fifth Amendment when they stand before the secular priest, the teacher.... For the child, the teacher pontificates as pastor, prophet, and priest.”⁶⁸

Historian John McGreevy describes how some within Catholic circles viewed Catholic schools in the mid-1960s as “embarrassing anachronisms.”⁶⁹ Critics pointed to concerns “that Catholic schools prevented public school integration, served a middle-class constituency, kept nuns trapped in educational servitude, promoted religious separatism, and doomed parishes to a perpetual sea of red ink” (240). Tensions ran high among Catholic religious who sensed that the student body was becoming more and more elite. McGreevy described one “outspoken nun who refused to become a ‘money-saving device for middle-class society with middle class values,’ while a colleague rejected work with ‘comfortable Catholics’” (236).

Specifically, at the secondary level educators were discouraged by the lack of development for American high schools. Edgar Friedenberg, a professor at Brooklyn

67. Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (London: Marion Boyars, 1996), 49.

68. *Ibid.*, 31.

69. John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 236.

College with a doctorate in education from the University of Chicago, perceived that the high school “has been getting worse for years.”⁷⁰ He declared it “an ungracious institution ... It cannot be counted on for generosity, for imagination, or for style. Its staff has on the whole too little confidence in its own dignity or judgment, and too little respect for that of others.”⁷¹ Given this dour view of secondary education in America, it is no wonder that some administrators found themselves searching for new ideas in the quest for renewal. Some even looked overseas and were intrigued by the boarding school vision of the Summerhill School in England. They valued the unorthodox insights of Summerhill’s founder, A. S. Neill, who believed that “the discipline of an army is aimed at making for efficiency in fighting. All such discipline subordinates the individual to the cause.... in a happy family, discipline usually looks after itself. Life is pleasant give and take. Parents and children are chums, co-workers.”⁷² Neill advocated a hands-off approach to discipline in schooling, declaring that “there may be a case for the moral instruction of adults, although I doubt it. There is no case whatever for the moral instruction of children. It is psychologically wrong.”⁷³

Given these contexts for the Jesuit high school in the United States, the pressure to adapt during this time was great. In 1965, the Jesuits’ international governing body, the General Congregation, instructed the order to investigate changes. DiGiacomo assessed the climate of Catholic schools within the greater cultural transformations. “It is no longer possible to reproduce the kind of school conditions and classroom atmosphere which

70. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (New York: Dell, 1959), 79.

71. *Ibid.*, 125.

72. A. S. Neill, *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (New York: Hart, 1960), 156–57.

73. *Ibid.*, 250.

parents of teenagers would find familiar. Gusty winds of cultural change and religious freedom have blown into the buildings dedicated to Catholic education.”⁷⁴ DiGiacomo described the pressure of adaptation as rapid and disorienting. “As the Catholic Church moves to adapt to the modern world and the changing situation of modern man, the experimenters and speculators are moving at a faster pace than the average Catholic parent” (150). He also noted the upward mobility of the Jesuit student and family when he lamented how “many so-called Christians have made a too-facile identification on Christianity with middle-class striving and respectability” (179). It is the period of tranquility and flourishing prior to the movement toward adaptation and the rapid and disorienting tensions that occurred that this dissertation will continue to explore.

74. DiGiacomo, *We Were Never*, 148.

Chapter 2 *Flourishing High Schools*

In the United States the idea of national expansion was understood through the notion of manifest destiny. This inexorable mission westward was a cultural invention, as described by scholar Alan Trachtenberg. “As myth and as economic entity, the West proved indispensable to the formation of a national society and a cultural mission: to fill the vacancy of the Western spaces with civilization, by means of incorporation (political as well as economic) and violence.”¹ In the American imagination, therefore, geographical movement motivated expansion. For Catholics in America, expansion developed through institution building, which had its roots in the disaffection for Catholics by the dominant American culture. Historian William Leach saw that for American Catholics, the response was “to create a strong set of institutions designed simultaneously to integrate Catholics into American culture and to erect a hedge against that culture. By 1912, the American Catholic Church, established and extensive, was catering not only to a large working-class population but also to a prospering middle class.”² This form of Catholic manifest destiny was therefore primarily a social movement, flowing from the geographical movement described by Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis. He had seen how “American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This ... fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American

1. Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 17.

2. William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 218.

character.”³ Contemporary scholars tend to dismiss Turner’s thesis as myth, yet it contains some insight that validates Jesuit institutional expansion in America. The prospering middle class that emerged desired continued social advancement.

The Jesuit contribution to the Catholic frontier in America was unique. Because different European Jesuit provinces simultaneously serviced particular sections of the country there was no systematic westward movement of Jesuit schools; each province started its own institutions independently. For example, in the East, Georgetown was founded in 1789; in the South, Spring Hill College in 1830; in the Midwest, Saint Louis University in 1818; and in the West, Santa Clara University in 1851. Yet Jesuits in America would come to believe there was a divinely ordained destiny, a “West,” for American Jesuit school expansionism, even though it did not manifest itself as a geographical phenomenon. In America, the greater good in Jesuit education was recognized primarily by its quantity; it was all about the numbers. Edmund FitzGerald, a classics professor at Boston College, boasted in 1949 about how “when one looks at the American Jesuit schools from the side of Europe, there is no denying the fact that they are impressive beyond words. Just recount the number and size of them and see how they are strategically placed across the Country.”⁴

American Jesuits liked thinking of their schools as advancement beyond what earlier generations of Jesuits had created in Europe, where Jesuits had direct influence upon the culturally elite, those “great and public persons (whether they be laymen like

3. Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History (1893),” in *American Ground: Vistas, Visions, and Revisions*, eds. Robert H. Fossum and John K. Roth (New York: Paragon House, 1988), 154.

4. W. Edmund FitzGerald, S.J., “Responsibility of American Jesuit Education in the World Crisis,” *Jesuit Educational Quarterly* (hereafter cited as JEQ) 12, no. 1 (1949): 20.

princes, dukes, magistrates, of administrators of justice, or ecclesiastics such as prelates)” [Const. p. 7, c. 2].⁵ However, because of anti-Catholicism in America, Jesuits did not have such access for influencing the cultural elite; their task therefore was to form what they hoped would become the Catholic dimension of it. With this motivation, their educational frontier had become more American, “a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines.”⁶ In the meantime, what gave Jesuits a feeling of accomplishment and made Jesuit schools grand in their eyes was that there were many of them and there would be even more.

Leach describes how as immigrant Catholics inculturated in the American context, their efforts communicated the major impact they hoped to make through the multitude of institutions. They “adopted what was called ‘Catholic Big’ in an effort to demonstrate that American Catholics, too, had the right to ‘go first class.’”⁷ When Jesuits eventually organized their schools into the Jesuit Educational Association, it was their contribution to “Catholic Big.” As their mission took on greater clarity within the American context, Jesuits realized that uniting individual schools into the Jesuit Educational Association was advantageous; big became bigger, for the movement of incorporation “permitted a number of people to pool their capital and their efforts under one name, as a single entity.”⁸ Although Trachtenberg’s study considers business development in the Gilded Age, his insights are apropos for the business of Jesuit education in America, for as a corporate device, the JEA became very much an intermediary among member institutions, “spawning new roles ... in

5. George E. Ganss, S.J., “St. Ignatius’ Constitutions and the Spirit of the Ratio,” *JEQ* 17, no. 2 (1954): 73.

6. Turner, “Significance of the Frontier,” 155.

7. Leach, *Land of Desire*, 219.

8. Trachtenberg, *Incorporation of America*, 17.

middle management, accounting, legal departments, public relations, advertising, marketing, sales ... Organization and administration emerged as major virtues, along with obedience and loyalty.”⁹ As John Dewey observes, this mindset would soon expand and impact myriad dimensions of American culture, including the world of education. “The growth of legal corporations in manufacturing, transportation, distribution and finance is symbolic of the development of corporateness in all phases of life.... Size is our current measure of greatness.”¹⁰ FitzGerald applied this measurement to the network of Jesuit schools and recognized that Jesuit education in America “actually holds a position more important for the maintenance and restoration of Christian life than at any time in its [the Society of Jesus] whole history.”¹¹

Jesuit education in America began to develop as a “brand” through the corporateness established by the JEA. American Jesuit education rooted itself in an understanding of expansion that equated bigger with better, and with great value placed upon what was new. The measure of greatness would be that the Jesuit schools contributed to the transformation of American Catholics in cities across the entire nation, and it did so in a way that was both Catholic and American, reflected in Jesuit Thomas Sullivan’s prediction. “Instead of that all too prevalent shame at being Catholic, there would soon come into being a justifiable pride. Everyone wants to belong to something big. By this much, at least, is the American man still an American boy.”¹² This chapter considers the issues accompanying expansion: the complexity of contextualizing the Society’s mission;

9. Ibid., 84.

10. John Dewey, “Individualism Old and New” (1930), in *American Ground*, 296–97.

11. W. Edmund FitzGerald, “American Jesuit Education,” 13.

12. Thomas J. Sullivan, S.J., “Scratch an Alumnus,” *JEQ* 7, no. 4 (1945): 223.

the engagement in public relations for expansion and development; the promotion of vocations for sustaining the future mission; and the management of Jesuit schools with regard to admissions, enrollment, and expansion. Finally, the chapter considers how expansion related to the ultimate desire of creating a Catholic elite, and the complications Jesuits encountered in pursuit of this end.

Contextualizing the Jesuit Mission of Education

Jesuits founded schools in order to promote a particular kind of education, one that strove to enable humans to exist within two worlds: the sacred and the secular. Robert Evans, the principal of Rockhurst High School in Kansas City, described in 1942 how “in Jesuit education everything is measured by the yardstick of eternity, yet not so as to weaken or obscure the force and importance of secular subjects.”¹³ Maintaining this balance between the knowledge of the head and of the heart was a challenge, yet for the Society of Jesus, its members deemed worthy the pursuit of this lofty purpose for apostolic works, especially schooling.

To assist in this important formation process early generations of Jesuits produced specific educational documents, initially for the Society in its universal identity; later generations composed documents that were specifically and uniquely aimed at a distinctively American manifestation of Jesuit education. These documents include the Jesuits’ *Constitutions*, the *Ratio Studiorum*, the *Instructio*, and the *Statement of Philosophy of the American Jesuit High School*.

13. Robert J. Evans, S.J., “Beating the Gun,” *JEQ* 5, no. 1 (1942): 78.

Interestingly, a specific focus upon education was not in the original vision of the new congregation. “Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuits undertook the management of schools some four hundred years ago almost by an accident. Their interest in education developed from a prior interest in life. The deliberate end and purpose of the company was to secure, unto the glory of God, not only the salvation but the perfection of men. The education of youth was adopted as one of the best means to this end.”¹⁴ This meant that from its beginnings, the Society of Jesus found in education a means to achieve what it believed to be a greater and more universal good, which Ignatius named as the desire “to help souls.” As William McGucken, professor of education at Saint Louis University, described, “for the Jesuit, curriculum and methodology are accidental, to be determined according to the exigencies of time and place ... But what is important, what is essential is that every shred and fiber of the education they impart be impregnated with Catholic principle and practice.”¹⁵ Schools were “the means for putting a Jesuit in close contact with students. This contact will give the Jesuit an opportunity to communicate Christ to certain men and women whom the Jesuit especially wants to reach.”¹⁶ Ideally, those particular people, as Ignatius himself described in the *Constitutions*, were the world’s elite citizens, “those persons in it who are of greater importance for the common good ... Examples of such persons are the ecclesiastical princes, the secular princes, and other persons who have great power to promote or impede the good of souls and the divine service.”¹⁷ According to George Ganss, a scholar of the *Constitutions*, having this influence upon the elite would

14. Hugh McCarron, S.J., “Not the Ratio,” *JEQ* 3, no. 2 (1940): 79.

15. William J. McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education: The Society’s Teaching Principles and Practice, Especially in Secondary Education in the United States* (New York: Bruce, 1932): 267–68.

16. Gustave A. Weigel, S.J., “The Heart of Jesuit Education—The Teacher,” *JEQ* 20, no. 1 (1957): 16.

17. Ignatius, *Constitutions*, pt. 7, no. 638–39, 281–82 (see chap. 1, n. 14).

enable the Society “to pour capable and zealous leaders into the social order, in numbers large enough to leaven it effectively for good.”¹⁸ To best facilitate this, Jesuits would find direction and inspiration within Part Four of their *Constitutions* which contained “so many perennial and inspiring educational principles that it deserves to rank as a classic of Christian educational philosophy.”¹⁹

Jesuit education was decidedly humanistic in its focus, with specific emphasis on the value of classical languages and literature. Louis Bannan, a Jesuit graduate student at the Catholic University of America, explained that “... Humanism, expression, and logical thinking are the academic objectives of our Jesuit high school. The study of languages, classical, as well as English, the study of mathematics, science, and history, all have a key position within our academic setup ...”²⁰ Jesuits believed that exposing students to a humanistic formation was the key for achieving their desired end for the educational apostolate. If humanistic formation succeeded in the way the Jesuits desired, it would bind students to their Catholic religion and foster the formation of a specific kind of man: the Christian gentleman. The Jesuits desired their alumni to be recognizable as gentlemen “who will take just pride in the heritage of their faith, and who by reason of their intellectual fitness will be able to face and solve, for themselves and others, the composite problems of life, social, civic, moral, and religious—who, in short, may contribute through

18. Ibid., pt. 4, no. 440, 211, n. 3.

19. Ganss, “Ignatius’ Constitutions,” 77.

20. Louis I. Bannan, S.J., “Academic Objectives of the Jesuit High School,” *JEQ* 10, no. 1 (1947): 53.

influence, service, and example to the upbuilding of the kingdom of God in the heart of humanity.”²¹

Sometimes this bond with faith was unsuccessful. However, the risk of failure was not to be a deterrent to the educational mission. Allen Farrell, a Jesuit professor and dean at West Baden College of Loyola University and an expert on the Jesuits’ methodology, noted how “Jesuits knew full well that in order to be a Christian, one first must be a man. Their aim, then, has always been the development of all the powers of the individual; the making of a man was their object in every case. Sometimes they failed to form the Christian; but not on that account did they cease trying to liberalize, to humanize, to form the man.”²²

The achievement of this desired end required the schools to follow a specific curriculum, known as the Jesuit order’s plan of studies, the *Ratio Studiorum*. The *Ratio* was “the instrument through which Ignatius’ ideals in education were effectively achieved on an unprecedentedly wide scale in Europe and America.”²³ Issued in 1599, the *Ratio* was painstakingly crafted, “over fifty years of collaborative academic effort had gone into its making, along with almost twenty years of committee work and two major trial-program documents.”²⁴ A hallmark of the *Ratio* was that it promoted “a balance of structure and freedom, establishing a definite plan with specific rules, but allowing a great respect for responsiveness in the Spirit when making adaptations to particular circumstances.”²⁵ In the

21. Allen P. Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938), 408.

22. Allen P. Farrell, “Four Hundred Years of Jesuit Education,” *JEQ* 3, no. 3 (1940): 123.

23. Ganss, “Ignatius’ Constitutions,” 80.

24. Claude Pavur, S.J., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005), vii.

25. *Ibid.*

American context, Jesuits disagreed about the level of adaptation for their educational principles. Farrell held that this concern was unnecessary, for the *Ratio* “contains within itself the elements essential to a new educational synthesis designed to meet modern needs without sacrificing the rich heritage of the past.”²⁶ For example, in the post-World War II period, Jesuit secondary education in America adapted for students who interrupted their secondary and higher education in order to enter the armed forces. In his assessment of their needs, Louis Twomey, S.J., the principal of Jesuit High School Tampa, observed many veterans “unprepared for the almost overwhelming shocks they have received, many of them, according to my observation, are badly confused psychologically, spiritually, and mentally. In happier times we could condition our boys in accordance with their maturing characters. But no such leisurely course is open to us now. We must strive to get them ready after high school for responsibilities they would normally have to assume only after college.”²⁷ This accommodation demonstrates how “Jesuit educators could relinquish those practices without abandoning any of the principles of their founder. When they ceased to apply this or that procedure which had become ill-adapted to new cultural circumstances, they were faithfully putting into execution one of Ignatius’ important principles: that the separate treatise or *Ratio Studiorum* ‘ought to be adapted to places, times, and persons’.”²⁸

Yet some Jesuit educators held that a strong adherence to the *Ratio* would protect them from falling victims to trendy American educational movements, providing a rock of stability within the Jesuit system. W. Edmund FitzGerald said that while “we can hardly

26. Allen P. Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 401.

27. Allen P. Farrell, “Postwar Planning for Jesuit Education: The High Schools,” *JEQ* 6, no. 1 (1943): 15.

28. Ganss, “Ignatius’ Constitutions,” 82.

hope to make of the *Ratio* the ‘Great Leveler,’ ... we can maintain that its strength is in its integrity, which is drawn strictly on the pattern of the integral human powers of the educand, and that, when expertly applied, it will maintain balance, like a gyroscope, against all the eccentricities of race, time, place, and vogue. It should be especially effective on the American scene to eliminate the artificial stimulations which have disrupted the unity of American cultural formation.”²⁹

The tradition of American Jesuit schools stemmed from the Society’s European educational practices, a relationship which put them at odds with the emerging public school system. European Jesuits operated classical schools, which “had been set up for the purpose of giving a very rigorous academic training in preparation for the university, and with a limited curriculum ordered to this end.”³⁰ Their European roots made Jesuit schools in America structurally different, for they did not distinguish between the American high school and college. The American high school was conceptually innovative, viewed primarily for “its function in society, as the educational institution serving the community, rather than from the viewpoint of preparing students for college or university.”³¹ This was a very different purpose for secondary schooling, and the Jesuits were under pressure to adapt their schools to mirror the American system. In Jesuit schools, “education up to the end of what we would call now the Sophomore year has always been a unit. It has never been our tradition that the high school be a self-contained unit. It was always held to be a part of a six-year training at least ... American Education, under the influence of

29. W. Edmund FitzGerald, “Elements in the Problem of Revision,” *JEQ* 9, no. 2 (1946): 87.

30. Robert F. Harvanek, S.J., “The Changing Structure of the American Jesuit High School” (hereafter cited as “Changing Structure”), *JEQ* 23, no. 2 (1960): 71–72.

31. *Ibid.*

Utilitarianism in education, broke up this unity, so that the high school became an end in itself; while, paradoxically, the college ... would be a self-contained unit.”³²

The division of Jesuit schools into American high schools and colleges that took place in the first decade of the twentieth century forced Jesuits to articulate separate ends for institutions that had formerly shared them. It “began a kind of separate development of Jesuit secondary education in the United States, and though generally speaking the tradition of Jesuit college preparatory education has been held to, the provinces have tended to expand the secondary school system independently of the college and university system.”³³

The high schools “adopted their own traditional humanistic goal of eloquence, the art of excellent speaking and writing of worth-while thoughts. This goal was to be achieved through the study of language and literature and through practice in the arts of communication or expression. All this was set within the context of the development of the whole man, according to the Catholic theology of education.”³⁴ What emerged as distinctive American Jesuit high schools and colleges was unique within the Society’s global educational system, especially the network of American colleges and universities. Traditionally, the Society of Jesus had favored what it perceived as highly influential secondary education, for Jesuits believed at the high school level “is youth plastic, and

32. George D. Bull, S.J., “Present Tendencies in Our Educational System,” *JEQ* 1, no. 1 (1938): 7.

33. Robert F. Harvanek, S.J., “The Objectives of the American Jesuit University—A Dilemma,” *JEQ* 24, no. 2 (1961): 74-75.

34. Harvanek, “Changing Structure,” 75.

ready to be shaped ... To this purpose, Jesuit educators in the secondary field devote themselves with enthusiasm.”³⁵

The Society of Jesus in America is organized geographically into what is known as the American Assistancy, and further divided into provinces which reflect different European foundations. Given the diversity of European Jesuit involvement in America, national uniformity was elusive, because different European Jesuits established different types of schools around the country—they didn’t think of themselves as a national or corporate entity. This speaks of a diversity of European traditions and complicates the position of a Catholic manifest destiny. On the east coast, Jesuit schools placed great value upon a classical identity, having been very much influenced by Georgetown and the English Jesuits, as well as established American institutions like Harvard and Yale. Belgian, German, and Swiss Jesuits established schools in the central U.S.; Italian Jesuits worked in the West; and French Jesuits founded schools in the South. Each region was culturally unique, so as Jesuits gradually began to think of their works nationally, they recognized an American complexity that called for a greater and more careful capacity for adaptation.³⁶ It was this emerging hybrid of American Jesuit identity that allowed for a more corporate understanding of Jesuit schooling.

As Paul FitzGerald describes, it was at the National Catholic Educational Association meeting in New York City in 1920 that a group of Jesuits gathered together out of concern for what they viewed as low caliber Jesuit education and apathetic Jesuit educators. In their opinion, “there was a distinct possibility that the apostolate of Jesuit

35. McGucken, *Jesuits and Education* (New York: Bruce, 1932), 166.

36. For a more detailed history of these distinctive regions, see chap. 4, “Jesuit Schools in the American Colonies,” in McGucken, *Jesuits and Education*, 145.

education, which had been the envy of the academic world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, might be ignominiously eliminated in the United States or, at the very least, condemned to perennial mediocrity.”³⁷ They suggested that American provincials create a national committee, which in turn recommended each province create an official to serve as “prefect of studies,” a position that would help raise the caliber of Jesuit schools in each provincial region of the nation. The position was officially promulgated, but not until 1954. The provincials expressed their conviction that this new role would “unify the educational work of the province and of the Assistancy” and that the prefects “would lead to greater unity and greater cooperation in the entire field of Jesuit education in America.”³⁸ Eventually, the prefect of studies would come to be viewed as a powerful adviser to the provincial on matters of educational policy. He would serve as supervisor of the high schools and colleges, even holding responsibility for “the preparation of course syllabi and for the selection of textbooks to be recommended for the provincial’s approval, as well as for the preparation and administration of province examinations ... The provincial delegates to the province prefect the authority that is necessary for the efficient exercise of all his functions.”³⁹ They also recommended that Jesuits maintain their relationship with the NCEA, but that it would be immensely valuable “that an association

37. Paul A. FitzGerald, S.J., *The Governance of Jesuit Colleges in The United States, 1920–1970* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 3–4.

38. John J. McMahon, S.J., “Letter to the Fathers and Scholastics of the American Assistancy,” *The Duties and Functions of the Province Prefect of Studies* (New York: Jesuit Educational Association, 1954); Director, Secondary Education Varia, College of the Holy Cross, Special Collections, 1955–1969 Folder, RG 7.3.

39. Jesuit Educational Association (hereafter cited as JEA), *Manual for Jesuit High-School Administrators* (New York: Fordham University Purchasing Department, 1957), 3.

of Jesuit institutions of the United States be formed and given publicity for the purpose of unifying standards and gaining general recognition.”⁴⁰

The process that enabled this later promulgation began earlier in 1932 when the Jesuits turned to the Father General, Włodimir Ledochowski, for guidance. As a result of his investigation, he issued an “Instruction on Studies and Teaching,” for the American Assistancy, a working document specific to American Jesuit schooling that, because of the interruption of World War II, was not officially promulgated until 1948. Matthew FitzSimmons, the prefect of studies in the New York province, described the *Instructio* as both a blueprint and a framework for adapting Jesuit education within the American context. “It provides for our solidarity, for united efforts of Jesuit education in the Assistancy; it provides for efficient and modern administration of our schools, high schools and colleges, in order to assure efficiency of the teaching effort; it plans for the academic preparation of our teachers. Within this framework, within the strong and elastic and expansive lines of this frame—there is no limit to progress.”⁴¹ In it, Ledochowski noted how “contemporary circumstances make unity among our universities, colleges, and high schools extremely important ... We have to work hard together to achieve this unity.”⁴² He identified areas demanding attention: high standards for all of the schools, rigorous Jesuit faculty development, and professionalization of Jesuit schools through national accreditation.

40. Paul A. FitzGerald, *Governance of Jesuit Colleges*, 7.

41. Matthew J. FitzSimmons, S.J., “The *Instructio* 1934–1949,” *JEQ* 12, no. 2 (1949): 78.

42. Włodimir Ledochowski, *Instruction for the American Assistancy* (promulgated in Rome 27 September 1948 by Father General John Baptist Janssens), trans. David H. Gill, S.J., Boston College Burns Library Collection.

For example, one fruit of the *Instructio* was the professionalization of the Jesuit high school principal. The JEA established national institutes, the first one for principals being held in 1940 at West Baden College, Indiana. It was at this meeting of principals that administrators drafted what became a crucial document for understanding the distinctiveness of the American Jesuit high school: the “General Statement of Philosophy of the American Jesuit High School.” It presented the objectives of the schools’ multiple identities: Jesuit, secondary, American, and Catholic. Regarding the specifically Jesuit nature of the high schools, the principals desired students to have “an intense loyalty and devotion to the Holy See ... leadership, particularly in religious activities ... an intelligent obedience to all duly constituted authority ... respect for the significant contributions of the past ... the humanistic habit of mind, emphasizing the classic literature as the best means to this end ... habits of orderly thinking through the medium of an analytic-synthetic study of languages, particularly the classical languages ... [and] competency in the arts of expression.”⁴³ These institutes continued to meet about every six years, producing national manuals and eventually fostering relationships with Jesuit college and university deans.

The *Instructio* was the American Jesuits’ “effort to give a new direction and a fresh impulse to the labors of Ours, corresponding to the needs of the day; an endeavor to produce results better proportioned to the energies expended; a systematized attempt to secure for our educational activities their due recognition and rightful standing among

43. “General Statement of Philosophy of the American Jesuit High School,” *JEQ* 9, no. 2 (1946): 84.

other groups of a similar rank and grade.”⁴⁴ Ultimately, the *Instructio* prioritized unity and cooperation among American Jesuits and their schools through the formation of an association, where all universities, colleges, and high schools would have membership *ipso facto*. The result was the formation of the Jesuit Educational Association, “a union of efforts in the educational field on the part of all our Provinces in the United States” which would provide “a determined, persevering, and effective policy to coordinate more efficaciously the work of the Society...”⁴⁵ The *Manual for High School Administrators*, a future fruit of the newly-established JEA, recognized that collegiality was a significant outcome for incorporation. Later Jesuits discerned that one of the “splendid accomplishments of the Jesuit Educational Association is the consolidation of the assets of all Jesuit schools. When a new practice proves successful in a high school on the west coast the experience is soon shared on the eastern seaboard. When a new principal is appointed in any of our high schools he is able to call upon the combined experience of the other thirty-seven. He is not isolated, nor does he need to start out on a voyage of discovery, exposing himself to all the false starts and costly mistakes inevitable in pioneering. Each man builds upon the work of the others instead of starting anew each time. The spiral has replaced the circle.”⁴⁶

The JEA met for the first time in New York City in 1936, concurrently with the annual meeting of the NCEA. The JEA would have a national executive secretary, a board of governors, various commissions, annual meetings, and an official publication, the *Jesuit Educational Quarterly*. This publication would become an extremely valuable source of

44. John B. Janssens, S.J., “Instructio ... Letter to the Fathers and Scholastics,” *JEQ* 11, no. 2 (1948):72-73. Official documents of the Society of Jesus refer to “Ours,” meaning that these with their contents pertain exclusively to members of the Society.

45. Janssens, “Letter of Father General,” *JEQ* 12, no. 1 (1949): 4.

46. JEA, *Manual*, v.

historiography for it preserved the voice of key players in the development of corporate Jesuit education in America. Jesuits established the *JEQ* to “illumine principles which are lacking or erroneous in secular education, to help *all* Jesuits to determine what *Jesuit* education really is, and to provide a stimulating challenge to Jesuits to broaden their educational interests and thinking.”⁴⁷ The association’s annual meetings, publications, and promotion of collegiality all ensured that the spiral of Jesuit education would continue to grow bigger and have even greater influence in the future.

Expansion and Perception: New Value in Public Relations

In the late 1930s there was disagreement within the Society about the role public relations should play in the running of Jesuit schools. Jesuits did agree the schools were not receiving the recognition they thought they should. “It is high time for us in America to devise ways, at least on a larger scale, of letting the country know what we are doing, and what we can do if we have adequate support for our endeavors.”⁴⁸ Charles O’Hara, a professor of education at Saint Louis University, felt that Jesuits were not to blame for the lack of public awareness of their schools. “The chief reason why we have in the past failed to win adequate support is that we have not known how to present our cause to the public.”⁴⁹ He proposed that the JEA consider investing in a professional national director to help promote greater recognition. The response to this proposal was mixed. Some Jesuits held that the schools would curry favor naturally in time, simply through the quality

47. Allan P. Farrell, “Readers’ Survey of the Quarterly,” *JEQ* 6, no. 4 (1944): 231.

48. “Putting Jesuit Education Before the Public: Opinions Pro and Contra” (henceforth cited as “Pro and Contra”), *JEQ* 2, no. 4 (1940): 171.

49. Charles O’Hara, S.J., “Putting Jesuit Education Before the Public,” (henceforth cited as “Before the Public”) *JEQ* 2, no. 3 (1939): 132.

and influence of their graduates. A majority of Jesuits surveyed by the JEA opposed having a national director, represented by one Jesuit who criticized the proposal for seeking worldly vainglory. “I find in the proposed remedy a spirit of not edifying pride, and I do not consider the remedy an indispensable means for the glory of God.”⁵⁰ Others placed themselves within the elite circle of already highly successful American schools through whom accomplishment was apparent without promotion, noting that “professional men (doctors, lawyers, for example) generally do not engage in publicity campaigns,” and that within self promotion “there lurks in the proposal the danger of seeming to make Jesuit more prominent than Catholic.”⁵¹

Edward Rooney, the national director of the JEA, joined in the caution around overemphasizing professional publicity while also conceding the Jesuit contribution as ill-acknowledged. While the financial cost of hiring for public relations would be formidable, his greater concern was the religious cultural cost for the schools. He felt such a position “would mean that a formidable power over our institutions is entrusted to a secular [a layperson]. Ours would speedily rebel against any sort of control over our internal affairs by an outsider” (178). Yet at the same time, Rooney lamented how “Catholics who have amassed fortunes and risen to influence in national economic life have left large legacies to secular universities” (180). The Jesuits needed to discover a better way of presenting their case for Jesuit education in America.

More professional public relations would highlight Jesuit schools as a national network, a quality that was seemingly being ignored and a frustration for the new JEA.

50. “Pro and Contra,” 173.

51. “Ibid.

While individual schools might have been known in particular cities, they were viewed as “separate and therefore relatively insignificant institutions instead of regarding them as constituent units of a national educational system.”⁵² Presenting the schools as a corporate whole would enable them to have greater influence. This missing ingredient presented “a serious obstacle to the effectiveness of Jesuit educational work.” (131). Greater publicity should present “our service to the national life, our historical and actual competence to accomplish that service, our importance to the educational life of the country and above all the principles and ideals we hold up for the development of our national life.”⁵³ After all, “the Jesuit Educational Association, with its national organization of members, whose faculties are men with an interior spiritual and cultural formation so homogeneous, is a unique power in American education. It is not surprising that discerning non-Catholics, looking at the nature and purpose of the Society, should have a respect for it bordering on the mythical, or, that within Catholic circles, others try to emulate, defer to, and rival its activities.”⁵⁴

There was also a sense that favorable public opinion lagged not because of poor alumni quality, but perhaps the quality of those Jesuits in whom the formation of students was to be entrusted. One Jesuit quipped, “Our public relations problems would long ago have been solved if somewhere along the line a larger than usual batch of superior Jesuits had been turned out.”⁵⁵ Rooney concurred, noting that Jesuits “ought to have schools so

52. “Before the Public,” 132.

53. “Pro and Contra,” 181.

54. W. Edmund FitzGerald, “Problem of Revision,” 91.

55. “Pro and Contra,” 182.

well equipped with the best teachers that our products will be uniformly of superior quality. Who is brash enough to say that we are so equipped at present?”⁵⁶

Jesuits continued to investigate the issue around self promotion, even seeking counsel from an alumnus public relations executive whose clients included Chrysler and CBS. Thomas J. Ross observed the Jesuits to be too internally focused, noting for example how the principal publication for their schools, *The Quarterly*, was “for private circulation,” a microcosm of separatism and missed opportunities for being known and valued in America. “Let me ask,” wrote Ross, perhaps with some dismay, “Is public opinion of any concern to Jesuit schools?”⁵⁷

In the late 1950s Jesuits began to acknowledge “there are good reasons to make strong efforts to keep people aware that we Jesuits are not resting on our fine tradition—an accusation we not infrequently hear being leveled against us—that we are not relaxing our efforts to conduct superior secondary schools, and that we are advancing and improving with the times ... We should not tend to hide our lights under the proverbial bushel.”⁵⁸ The result was greater emphasis upon engaging the public with the merits of Jesuit education. In the *JEQ* Jesuits shared the wisdom gained of their experiences thus far in the world of public relations. One Jesuit advised the brethren to foster relationships with local newspaper editors. He suggested it was permissible to give presents, especially if they lifted the spirits of Jesuit education. This might entail a bit of bribery, especially at Christmastime. While “an appropriate gift at this season always helps relationships between the school and the local press,” it would be wiser “if the city editor finds a box of

56. Ibid., 181–82.

57. Thomas J. Ross, “Public Relations and Jesuit Schools,” *JEQ* 9, no. 1 (1946): 23.

58. Thomas G. Savage, S.J., “Our Light Shining Before Men,” *JEQ* 19, no. 4 (1957): 236.

cigars or a bottle of Old Forester—better still, if he finds both—on his desk as a Christmas remembrance from the school, he immediately grows more interested in the place.”⁵⁹

Expansion for the Future: The Promotion of Jesuit Vocations

From the very first issue of the *JEQ* American Jesuits found themselves battling a tendency within their schools that they found disturbing and contrary to their mission. Traditional Jesuit education taught subjects “in such a manner as to turn out Catholics with a deep and keen interest in things of the mind for their own sake ... We have believed that this is the only way to bring out a strong, highly cultured class of Catholic intellectuals who will, in time, leaven the whole mass of American life.”⁶⁰ George Bull, chair of Fordham University’s philosophy department, described encroaching *vocationalism* in Jesuit schools as a growing threat to traditional Jesuit education. Vocationalism valued schooling “to earn a living, rather than for knowing how to live.” Perhaps of greater concern for the Jesuits, however, was that vocationalism in general threatened Jesuit vocations, the future membership within the order. It was not uncommon for young men to enter studies for the priesthood upon graduating high school. In particular, American Jesuits greatly depended upon their schools for the future supply of their ranks, and the high schools were deemed especially crucial. In the JEA President’s Annual Report of 1964 the board of governors was reminded the “general pattern of vocations for the entire Assistancy remains much the same as in past years, namely, that the majority of our vocations come from

59. Ibid., 240–41.

60. Bull, “Present Tendencies,” 5.

Jesuit schools and more particularly from Jesuit high schools.”⁶¹ A *JEQ* report demonstrates how the high schools yielded a high volume of newcomers not only for the Jesuits, but also for the diocesan priesthood and other religious communities. An impressive “922 Vocations to the priesthood and religious life are partial fruit of Jesuit high schools from June 1947 to October 1951. Of these, 500 entered novitiates of the Society, 141 entered other novitiates and 281 entered diocesan seminaries or preparatory seminaries.”⁶² The high schools tended to be more fruitful vocation sources for future manpower than were the colleges. In 1955, 112 Jesuit college graduates entered the Society,⁶³ while that same year 146 entered from the high schools.⁶⁴ Jesuits understandably desired to protect this important source of future manpower. Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate first by total number and second by percentage that Jesuits could depend upon three percent of all graduates from their high schools to enter the order.⁶⁵ The numbers begin to decline significantly between 1960 and 1965.

61. President’s Annual Report to the Board of Governors, Inisfada (Manhasset, NY, April 3–5, 1964), JEA Collection, Box 20, Burns Library, 3.

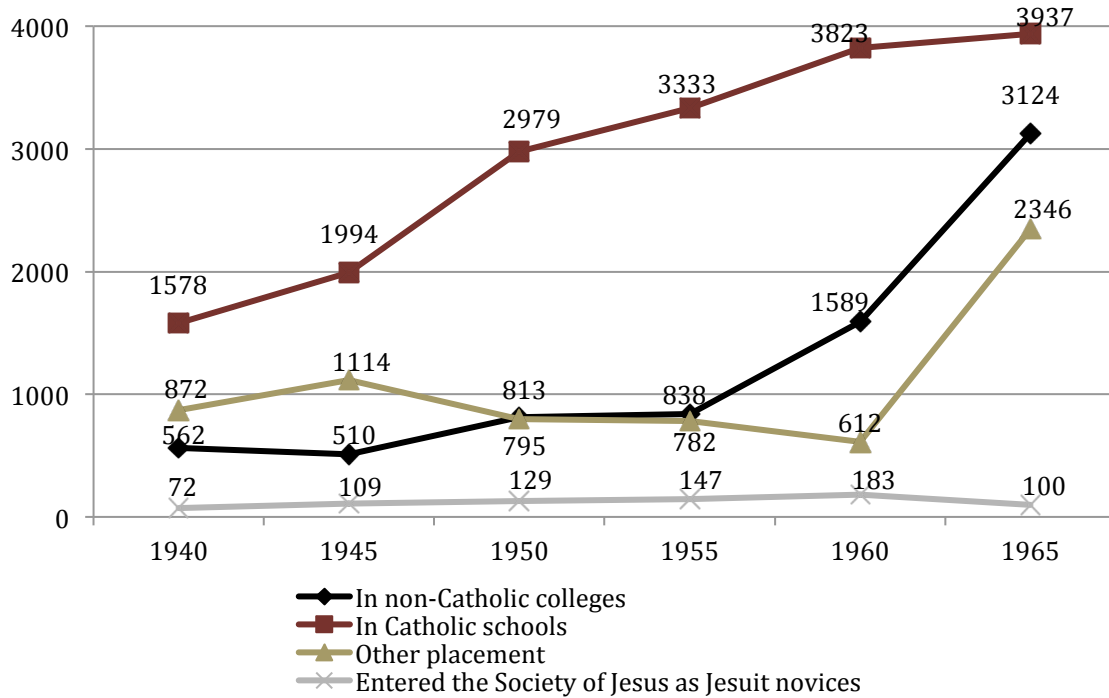
62. “News from the Field,” *JEQ* 14, no. 3 (1952): 188.

63. *Ibid.*, 19, no. 1 (1956): 58.

64. *Ibid.*, no. 4 (1957): 253.

65. JEA, High School Forms, JEA Collection, Boxes 16, 17. Data gathered from five-year increments.

Table 3: Jesuit HS Graduate Placements by Year

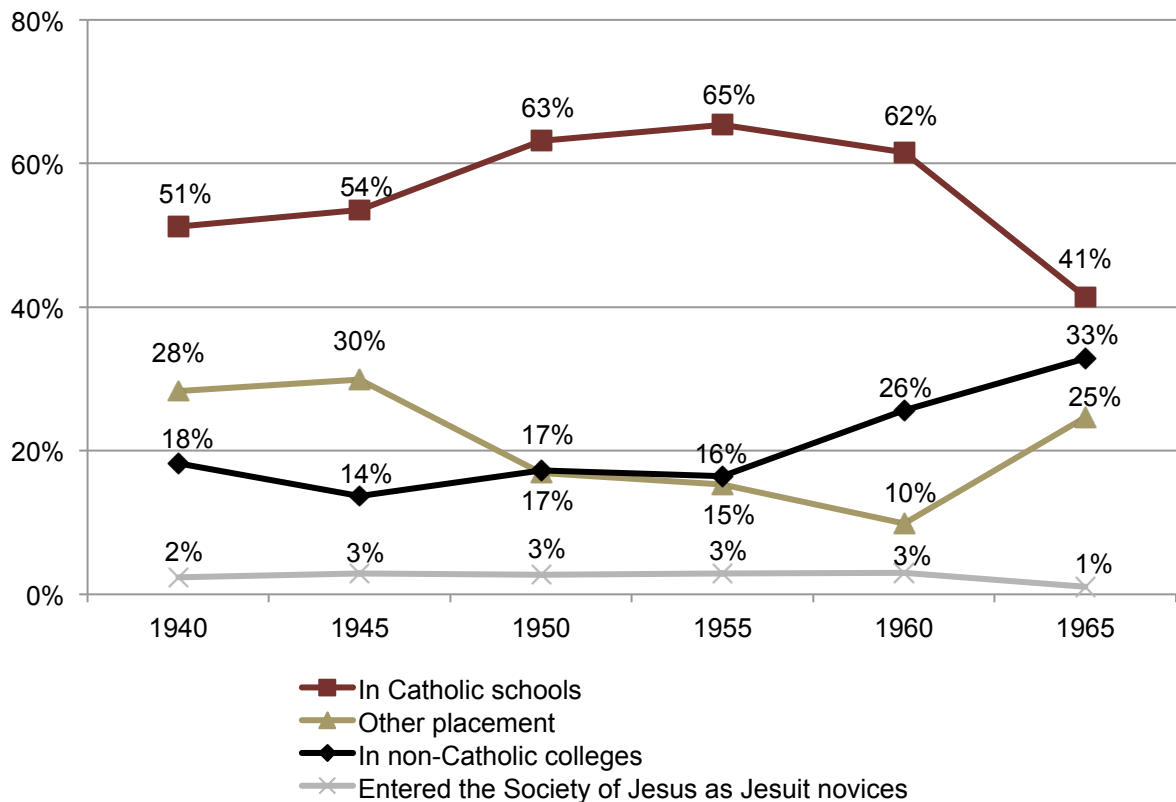


As they faced competition from the mindset of vocationalism, Jesuits pondered how their students experienced their priesthood and whether their priestly example could be improved. The father general emphasized in the *Instructio* the importance for priests to serve in the high schools. Ledochowski wrote and later general John Janssens affirmed how it was “extremely important for the sake of promoting stable academic traditions that there be a stable faculty” in the high schools.⁶⁶ “Thus, Ours after ordination should be prepared to make a career of teaching in high schools. They should understand that they are performing a most important duty by academically solid and religiously oriented teaching of Catholic youths of tender age.”⁶⁷ Jesuit principals gathering for an institute affirmed the need for better exposure to the priesthood when they “recommended that the teachers of

66. Janssens, “Instruction,” art. 8.

67. Ibid.

Table 4: Percentage of Jesuit HS Grad Placement by Year



religion be priests.”⁶⁸ This emphasis on priest teachers wasn’t solely for stable academic tradition, however, but perhaps especially for the promotion of Jesuit priesthood. It was in the Jesuit teacher that young men would see an ideal that the Jesuits hoped they would find worthy of emulation: “a man of selfless devotion and charity. All his thoughts must be taken up with the interests of his boys. He must sacrifice himself by patience, kindness, hard work, self-criticism. Jesuit teachers should enter the classroom with great enthusiasm because teaching is apostolic, and not only are we not merely giving information, not only are we training minds, developing the natural virtues, but we are moulding a soul.”⁶⁹

68. “Denver Institute Proceedings: Course of Studies” (henceforth cited as “Denver Institute”), *JEQ* 9, no. 3 (1947): 146.

69. R.J. Henle, S.J., “Letter to a Teacher,” *JEQ* 6, no. 2 (1943): 104.

When some Jesuits proposed to the father general that priests leave their positions in schools to lay people in favor of “so-called more priestly activity,” he strongly objected, noting that it was from schools that “the future life of the Church depends because from them especially will depend her influence on public life.”⁷⁰ It was clear he understood that “... high schools are a vital and precious source of vocations to the priesthood and religious life.”⁷¹ Good priestly example was the means of fostering priestly vocations. One Jesuit, Thomas Burke, a student counselor at Regis High School in New York, emphasized relationships between Jesuit priests and students as particularly helpful in promoting the Society. “Experience shows that many are drawn to the Society either by personal contact with Ours or by reading the lives of our saints and holy men ... The faculty must give the student the realization that they are truly interested in him as a person, in all his interests no matter how trivial. Good example fosters vocations.”⁷² Arthur Shea, the prefect of discipline at Fordham Prep, concurred. “A man teaches a boy primarily not English or Latin or Mathematics but how to be a man. The boys, who are exposed to his influence many hours a week, are not merely learning his subject. They are learning him. They do not pay half as much attention to what he is saying as they pay to what he is and what he is doing.”⁷³

Some Jesuits questioned the sincerity of the way the order’s members lived their priestly lives. Charles Gallagher, a Jesuit theologian at Woodstock College, wondered if there was vocationalism within the priesthood, encouraging Jesuit to approach the

70. Vincent A. McCormick, S.J., “Address of Father Assistant,” *JEQ* 16, no. 1 (1953): 7.

71. *Ibid.*, 8.

72. Thomas A. Burke, S.J., “Fostering Vocations to the Religious Life,” *JEQ* 17, no. 1 (1954): 19, 21.

73. Arthur V. Shea, S.J., “The Daily Battle: Youth vs. Discipline,” *JEQ* 18, no. 4 (1956): 223.

apostolate as a mere job at the school. While worldly aspiration was a very real temptation for the students, perhaps some were confused and dissuaded from the Society because of the careerist way some Jesuit priests were living. "By the word 'career' we mean an occupation, not a state of life. This impulse comes from three sources, their socio-economic background, their parents and the school ... The 'ecclesiastical state' is not a career; it is a state of life ... Unfortunately, career and state of life are equated even by well educated Catholics. They are proud of their priest son. They are equally proud of their son who is a doctor. Both are prestige careers. The priesthood is a good job to have. As a result, many of our students have the same attitude. They place the priesthood in the same category as medicine and law. It is not thought of as something apart."⁷⁴

The Jesuits also formulated a composite of the young man who entered the Society of Jesus by studying 63 Jesuit scholastics in the New York and Maryland Provinces, all of whom had graduated from Jesuit high schools. By understanding better the background of young men who in the recent past were attracted to the Society enough to enter it, the Jesuits hoped to seek current likeminded students. The composite revealed that the typical young man who entered the novitiate hailed from the middle class, attended Catholic grammar school, served as an altar boy, frequented the sacraments, and was already leaning toward the priesthood even before he came to the Jesuit high school. At the Jesuit school he was influenced by the example of both priests and scholastics, especially those who expressed personal interest in him. "He is hindered by lack of information about the Society, a need for help from and association with the student counsellor, a lack of interest and approachability of some Jesuits, the bad example of some of Ours, debilitated Sodality

74. Charles A. Gallagher, S.J., "State of Life or Career," *JEQ* 21, no. 1 (1958): 55-56.

and spiritual activities, poorly conducted religion classes, and finally, the thought of personal unfitness.”⁷⁵

In the late 1950s Jesuits formed the Woodstock Committee, a group of eleven scholastics charged with studying and recommending changes for the promotion of high school vocations to the Society. The committee observed three problems. First, the teaching of religion suffered in the high schools and needed renovation. They noted how “the presentation of dogma is on the dry, analytic level that is at home in the seminary but not in the high school.... Unfortunately because of the combination of uninspired teaching, dissatisfaction with textbooks, and the amount of time devoted to it, the religion course appears at times on the level of a minor subject, to be passed automatically and soon forgotten.”⁷⁶ Second, they observed problems in the Sodality: the “organization that should be the prime source of vocations cannot free itself from the crippling work of mass formation, and the result is mediocrity ... The Sodality should be run strictly and selectively, novitiate fashion” (43-44). Third, and given the most attention, was the ongoing struggle with vocationalism. “From all sides, family, communications, even the school, ever-increasing pressure is brought to bear on the boys to make them think in terms of material success ... Too often we find that students whom we judge would be good vocation prospects have closed minds on the religious or priestly state because they have previously committed themselves to become engineers, lawyers, doctors, or scientists” (45). Jesuits needed to compete with this mindset in order to foster the vocations which would supply the manpower needed for expansion. They needed to admit and enroll excellent young

75. Richard C. Braun, S.J. and Edward J. Fischer, S.J., “Jesuit Vocations in Our High Schools,” *JEQ* 17, no. 3 (1955): 159.

76. The Woodstock Committee, “Vocations in Our High Schools,” *JEQ* 21, no. 1 (1958): 43.

men who would find the Jesuit vocation more convincing than the options provided through the lens of vocationalism.

Admission, Enrollment, and Expansion

Enrollment and admission processes at Jesuit high schools grappled with a host of issues surrounding system-wide expansion in the United States. During their training, Jesuits were taught to strive for the *magis*, the “greater good.” It was especially through their schools that Jesuits believed they could influence and evangelize the greater culture through a multiplier effect of the formation they offered their students. As Jesuits began to consider the role expansion would play in their pursuit of the greater good they discovered the *magis* was applicable in two ways. Some Jesuits felt that a greater good could be achieved by providing a Jesuit education for the largest number of people possible. This interpretation emphasized that a greater number of high schools each containing a greater number of students yielded greater influence for the Society’s mission in the world.

Other Jesuits were very critical of this pursuit of influence through the multitude. They maintained that the attempt to form such large numbers of students would unavoidably yield tepid alumni. They held instead that a greater good would result from limited access to and more competition for Jesuit education. Jesuit historian William Leahy described how the president of the JEA, Edward Rooney “grew more troubled about excessive and unplanned growth ... He gradually became a sharp critic of increasing enrollments and new programs.”⁷⁷ Through deeper formational investment in carefully

77. William P. Leahy, S.J., *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1991), 146.

selected students at fewer schools, the Society of Jesus could achieve a greater good through these select individuals.

Ultimately, the vision of expansion through bigger numbers and more institutions was victorious. But as high school enrollment ballooned, did more and bigger schools connote better Jesuit education? Some Jesuits were doubtful. “Are the growing enrollments in our high schools an unmixed good, or are they likely to lessen the quality of our educational work?”⁷⁸ Another Jesuit saw the pursuit of larger enrollments as shortsighted, opining that a greater benefit for the schools would come if the Society sought a more rigorous formation for its own members. “A more practical project would be ... training ‘bigger and better’ Jesuits. When we have none but superior men running our schools and teaching our students, then we shall begin to be so effective that our products will advertise us in such a way as to cause both money and students to come pour in upon us.”⁷⁹ Even the Jesuits’ superior general was concerned. Rooney described in a 1958 confidential memo his reflections on his private conference with Janssens, who expressed to him that in America “the Society is extending itself too broadly in various fields of the apostolate.”⁸⁰ In an earlier letter to the entire Society, Janssens warned against expansion that he believed stretched the Society “far beyond the forces we have to dispose of in their [students] education. News about such increase in numbers does not give me pleasure: it fills me with fear. It is just as if we were perpetually establishing new colleges ... without mature

78. Allan P. Farrell, “Readers’ Survey,” 227.

79. “Pro and Contra,” 181–82.

80. Confidential Memoranda by Edward Rooney, S.J., 1958, Conferences of JEA President, JEA Collection, 1961–1965 Folder, Box 20.

deliberations and computation of our resources, to see whether we have the wherewithal to finish the tower begun.”⁸¹

In the United States, entrance into a Jesuit school involved an examination of both intellectual potential and strength of character. For example, the 1911 *Course of Studies for the Colleges of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus* states the requirements for admission, which were representative of Jesuit high schools throughout the country. First, “all applicants must give evidence of good moral character.” It was a secondary expectation to pass a satisfactory exam in English grammar and composition, arithmetic, history, and geography.⁸² The Jesuits understood the character of the young man as most important, even more than his intellectual ability, perhaps because they recognized some personalities as more receptive than others to the type of formation they offered. This supremacy of character complicated the academic work that the schools demanded. Young men of good character might not necessarily have the intellectual gifts needed to succeed in the traditional Jesuit high school.

Richard Grady, professor of Latin at Loyola College in Baltimore, considered the possibilities that would come from this admissions structure. “Are we to refuse admission to our schools to such students and accept only those who are capable of completing the full classical course? That is one possible solution, although in many cases not economically practical. Or are we to admit all students, insist that all complete the classical curriculum, and inevitably lower the standards of that curriculum? Or are we to give up the classical

81. Memorandum, July 29, 1954, with excerpt from English trans. of Janssens’ letter to Society, “De Ministeriis Nostris,” JEA Collection, JEA: Expansion of Jesuit Institutions, Policies and Procedures Folder, Box 34.

82. *Course of Studies for the Colleges of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus* (St Louis, MO: 1911), Midwest Jesuit Archives (henceforth cited as MJA), Bin 576.

curriculum entirely, albeit regretfully, and salvage what we can of the liberal ideal and the spirit of the *Ratio*?”⁸³

Grady’s questions reflected an important debate within the issue of expansion regarding the intended population for schools. In their historical separation from the colleges and universities, the high schools became college preparatory as they were to facilitate the desired continuity between them and the Jesuit colleges. Jesuit high schools sent 80 percent of their students to college in the span of 1946–1952, whereas only 30.7% of graduates of public and non-public schools in 1944 went on to college. In 1943 the proportion in public schools was 27.1%.⁸⁴ The unspoken expectation was that all of that 80 percent would receive Jesuit higher education.

Yet with the expansion of the high schools came more terminal students, those for whom secondary education would be the end of their formal schooling. Did the Jesuits do these students a disservice by admitting them to their college prep schools, especially given that their position was that Jesuit secondary education was strictly “college preparatory high school not ... terminal high school ... Our high school educational program is not, then, self explanatory. It looks beyond for its fuller meaning.”⁸⁵ Was a Jesuit education sensible for these students and if so, did their presence suggest a need for the schools to adjust the curriculum in order to better serve them?

Application data reveal how young men were very much interested in the high schools, and the schools were competitive, generally speaking. The *JEQ* reported in 1953

83. Richard F. Grady, S.J., “The Question of Latin: Replies, a Section Called Premises and a Conclusion,” *JEQ* 4, no. 3 (1941): 128.

84. William J. Mehok, S.J., “Survey of Jesuit High Schools: Evaluation 1946–1952,” *JEQ* 14, no. 4 (1952): 210.

85. James E. Farrell, S.J., “Integrating Jesuit Curriculum in Light of Catholic Aims,” *JEQ* 14, no. 2 (1951): 93.

that Regis High School, New York, administered scholarship tests to 1,170 boys, of whom 175 were selected. St. Louis University High School tested 540 potential freshmen and admitted 210 while Fordham Prep gave exams to 1,300 applicants with an acceptance of 216. Brooklyn Prep administered tests to 1,511 boys and welcomed 177 of them. “Xavier tested 2,200 of whom about 200 will be selected. Fairfield Preparatory School examined 350 applicants [272 enrolled]. Boston College High School examined almost 800 applicants [461 entered]. Loyola High School, Los Angeles, will accept 260 of its 400 applicants.”⁸⁶ Given the demand for their education, the Jesuits were pleased to supply ready access, even for terminal students.⁸⁷

Jesuits were resigned, however, to the fact that sometimes a bishop or an alumnus or benefactor forced a school’s hand to admit a boy who was not intellectually qualified for the rigor of the school. “Because of embarrassment or economic conditions ... we may as well take it for granted that a certain number of pressure cases always manage to gain admittance into our institutions, whether we will it or not.”⁸⁸ A high volume of applicants did not always yield students both academically gifted and possessed with stellar character.

Concern for anticipated declining demand in the immediate post-World War II period led Jesuits to engage in a frank assessment of their educational model. Some wondered whether it was still attractive in such a changing world, recognizing the potential that “many parents will be financially in no position to send their sons to Jesuit schools.”⁸⁹

Widening the scope of their recruitment was one way the Jesuits could keep their schools

86. “News,” *JEQ* 16, no. 2 (1953): 140–41.

87. “High School Enrollments: 1953–1954,” *JEQ* 16, no. 3 (1954), Supplement.

88. Augustine F. Giunta, S.J., “Responsibility of the School Toward the Failing Student,” *JEQ* 12, no. 1 (1949): 32.

89. James F. Maguire, S.J., “Postwar Planning for Jesuit High Schools: Emotional Realism,” *JEQ* 6, no. 1 (1943): 16.

financially stable in a tumultuous time. The feared enrollment decline did not materialize, resulting in an unexpected need for further expansion because of the fruitful recruitment.

Potential financing difficulties motivated expansion but the pursued solution brought unanticipated challenges to the Jesuits. The schools were financially strapped as they tried to meet the needs of a more academically diverse student body. “Budget considerations might require the enrollment of an increasingly large number of students who are allergic to the solid intellectual foods we prefer to dispense. Such a situation would seem to demand an enriched (and more expensive) curriculum—expanded beyond the present classical, scientific, and general curricula.”⁹⁰ The principal of Rockhurst High School in Kansas City put it more bluntly: “The other courses have always been tolerated merely to stabilize enrollment, not as desirable objectives.”⁹¹

The cost of this postwar expansion was not primarily financial but academic, for schools were left with a different problem. It seemed to hurt the quality of schools, for “with the exception of smaller classes, conditions conducive to good teaching have declined with increasing numbers and the quality of the student body, measured in terms of the classics, has also declined.”⁹² Vincent McCormick reported that the question of quality was system-wide, affecting the colleges and universities as well. His interaction with an Irish Jesuit was revealing of the European perspective: “You have so many universities in

90. Ibid.

91. Arthur J. Evans, S.J., “An Educational Credo” (henceforth cited as “Credo”), *JEQ* 6, no. 1 (1943): 18.

92. Mehok, “Survey of Jesuit High Schools Library: 1950–1951,” *JEQ* 13, no. 4 (1951): 233.

the United States that it stands to reason most of them must be mediocre; for there are not enough real scholars among you to staff so many first rate centers of learning.”⁹³

When the Jesuit principals gathered in Denver in 1946 the *JEQ* reported they considered the possibility of enrollment reduction. “Regarding the elimination of unsatisfactory students many splendid suggestions were made. By far the best of these struck at the root of the difficulty. It is to a great extent a question of admissions. Hence a more careful screening was proposed, which, if followed up by an adequate professional student personnel service, would reduce the necessity of elimination to a more manageable minimum.”⁹⁴

In the mid 1940s JEA statistician William Mehok calculated that six percent of freshmen were dismissed or withdrew from their Jesuit high school in the second semester. Fourteen percent failed one or more subjects and two percent of remaining freshmen repeated that year.⁹⁵ Three years later, in his completion of “the unpleasant task of taking stock of the dismissals, failures, conditions and repeats,” Mehok calculated that 5.3 percent of all students were dismissed or withdrawn for scholastic or disciplinary reasons and 18 percent had failed at least one subject.⁹⁶ Strangely, in the midst of such problems, the expansion continued. One year later at the JEA annual meeting Edward Rooney proudly announced the opening of the newest Jesuit high school, Brophy College Prep, located in Phoenix.⁹⁷

93. McCormick, “Address of Father Assistant,” 6.

94. Joseph R. N. Maxwell, S.J., “The Denver Principals’ Institute,” *JEQ* 9, no. 2 (1946): 72.

95. Mehok, “Survey of Jesuit High Schools: 1946–1947,” *JEQ* 9, no. 4 (1947): 218.

96. *Ibid.*, “Library,” 234.

97. *Ibid.*, “Jesuit Educational Association Annual Meeting 1952,” *JEQ* 15, no. 1 (1952): 19.

Some Jesuits held that the schools had an obligation to see all students through to their graduation. Augustine Giunta, the rector-principal of Campion in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, criticized the schools for not “following through with the responsibility we assumed when the student was accepted at registration.”⁹⁸ If the schools took on students who were not qualified, Giunta held, then they were obliged to create a curriculum designed to meet them at their level. “If, after testing, boys below average are granted admission without qualification because of embarrassment or economic conditions, it could seem to be our responsibility to gear the courses of study and syllabi down to their level and not overburden them with that which we well realize they are absolutely incapable of successfully attaining. We have invited a situation fraught with academic problems and low educational achievement.”⁹⁹

Yet every year the *Quarterly* presented the new enrollment data for the high schools, the ongoing expansion was always noted with great delight. In 1956 Richard Costello, the new statistician for the *JEQ*, reported with “glad tidings that Jesuit high school enrollment has reached new heights. This marks the seventh consecutive year that an increase over the preceding year was registered and the fourth consecutive year in which a new all-time high was attained.”¹⁰⁰ Periodically, the publication would present a narrative of growth that communicated the fruitful results of expansion; increased numbers equaled success. In 1938 there were 33 high schools in 16 states and Washington, D.C., while in 1955 there were 43 schools in 23 states and the District. Overall enrollment during that time

98. Giunta, “Failing Student,” 32.

99. Ibid.

100. Richard D. Costello, S.J., “An Analysis of National Statistics 1956–1957,” *JEQ* 19, no. 3 (1957): 147.

increased by 85 percent.¹⁰¹ For comparison, the *JEQ* reported that other private school enrollments increased 92.8 percent from 1943-1955, while public schools increased 13 percent. Jesuit schools grew 82 percent.¹⁰² Table 5 presents this expansion as a bar graph depicting the number of high schools over time and Table 6 presents the increase in total enrollment.¹⁰³

Costello suggested that the rise in Jesuit schooling was due to the fact that parents were “determined to provide a Catholic education for their children.” He credited the Catholic hierarchy. “The Holy Father, the bishops, the priests—has strengthened the determination of parents.” Costello admitted, however, that other factors might have been at work which were less pious and more rooted in self-interest and protection. Parents might have been acting more from motivation to keep children away from public schools. “Sensational accounts of juvenile delinquency and the unproven charges that lack of discipline and lack of respect for authority stem from ‘progressive’ tendencies in public education have caused genuine alarm.”¹⁰⁴

As statisticians for the association, Jesuits Mehok and Costello facilitated the collection of data for all Jesuit high schools. Starting in the late 1930s until 1970, each school completed the annual “High-School Information Blank,” what in later years was

101. Ibid.

102. Costello, “National Statistics 1957-1958,” *JEQ* 20, no. 3 (1958): 157.

103. JEA, High School Forms, Boxes 16, 17, and 19.

104. Costello, “National Statistics 1957-1958,” 158.

Table 5: Number of Schools

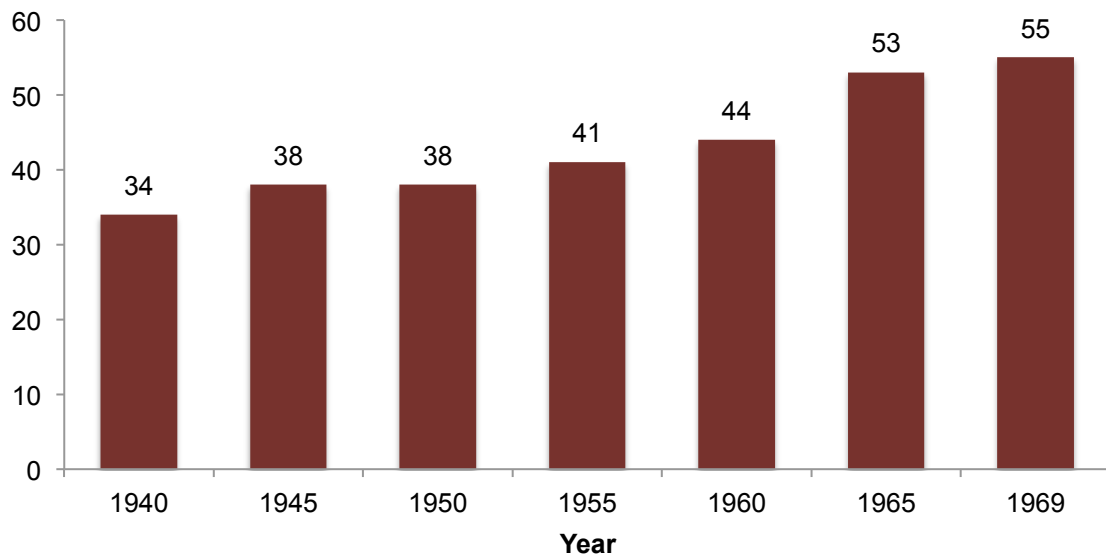
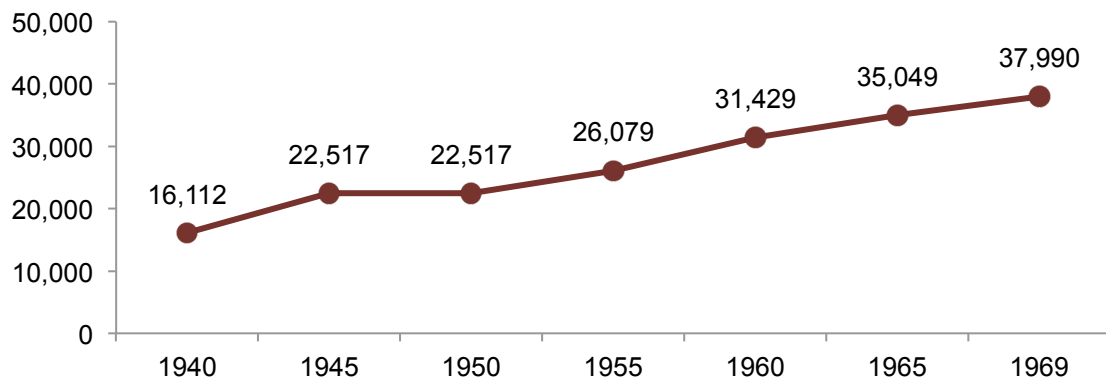


Table 6: Total Enrollment



known simply as the “High School Report.” The form evolved to have five different manifestations exposing a significant shifting of priorities in Jesuit secondary education. The evolution of the forms is revelatory of what the Society deemed significant enough to record and collect on a national scale.

Common to each version was basic information on the faculty size and its composition, number of students per grade, and placement information for the previous year’s graduates. Beyond this basic information, the evolution of the form reveals

interesting changes. The earliest form places great significance upon religion; a quarter of the report dealt strictly with matters of faith. Each school was asked to differentiate graduates who went on to attend Catholic schools and non-Catholic schools. Additionally, the JEA documented graduates who entered the Jesuit novitiate, those who went to novitiates of other Catholic religious orders, and those graduates who entered seminaries for secular clergy. Schools recorded the average attendance of students at daily Mass, weekly receptions of Holy Communion, monthly confessions, as well as Sodality involvement and other religious activity. The JEA noted the number of non-Catholic teachers and non-Catholic students attending Jesuit schools, inquiring what religious instruction the school made available for them. The remainder of the form reported non-religious activities, with a full page devoted to library holdings and usage.¹⁰⁵

Beginning in 1952 the high school forms included a record of school subscriptions to educational journals, emphasizing the priority for greater professionalization. This new form also presented a more specific collection of extracurricular activities. The JEA wanted information on the existence of organizations like student council, debating societies, musical, literary, and science clubs, as well as groups for hobbies, athletics, honors, and parents. The form now addressed whether physical education was a requirement and what athletic programs existed. The library continued to receive a full page, revealing the significance placed upon that school space.¹⁰⁶

In 1961 the JEA began to collect information regarding school failures and dropouts. Religious activity data diminished significantly. Sacramental practices were no

105. "High-School Information Blank," JEA Collection, 1940 Folder, Box 16.

106. "High-School Blank," 1952 Folder, Box 19.

longer recorded; the only inquiries considered passive activity such as membership in the League of the Sacred Heart, the Sodality, the occurrence of mission collections, and the number of non-Catholic students. Interestingly, the JEA began to collate information on the fast-growing athletic programs, noting numbers both of participants and non-participants. The JEA wanted to know too whether students were participating in the school's insurance plan. Library data diminished to roughly half of what was collected earlier.¹⁰⁷

The final version of the high school report began to circulate in 1965. New to the form was information regarding summer sessions and opportunities for remedial work. Schools presented the Advanced Placement courses they offered and the number of students enrolled. For extracurricular activity the JEA inquired about debate, literary magazines, and academic clubs. Regarding athletics, administrators were asked whether schools were members of state high school athletic associations, what specific sports were offered, as well as school offerings of intramural athletics. Reflecting further academic professionalism, the form asked about supervision and observation of teachers by principals and assistant principals. Jesuit schools highlighted too, the number of faculty with advanced and terminal degrees, as well as the starting and maximum salaries faculty members received based on these academic credentials. Regarding religious activity, the JEA only wanted to know whether Mass was a requirement and whether retreats were offered for each class.¹⁰⁸

107. "High-School Report," 1961 Folder, Box 17.

108. "High-School Report," 1965 Folder, Box 17.

The importance of these forms rests not only in the volume of data that they contain, but also in the national context they promoted. They enabled schools to compare themselves with other Jesuit high schools, suggestive of a growing uniformity as valuable to Jesuit secondary education. For example, the *JEQ* statistician observed the influence the forms had on sacramental practice within the schools. “When the study appeared in 1947, the proportion of schools having daily obligatory Mass was one-fourth. This year [1949] the proportion is almost one-third ... There has been an increase of about 20% in the number of students’ Confessions.”¹⁰⁹ When the form inquired about intramural sports but a school did not yet have such a program, the question’s presence suggested intramurals as a valuable program to be pursued. When the JEA began to ask about faculty members with the Ph.D., the question suggested that terminal degrees were valuable for the schools. The opposite is equally significant. For example, when the association stopped recording the number of non-Catholic faculty, the absence of that data revealed how making this distinction among faculty members was no longer considered worthwhile. Within the chapter are a sampling of data gathered in five-year increments that reflect the content of these reports and how they reveal the complexity of the expansion project.

Desires and Complications for Creating a Catholic Elite

Jesuits desired that graduates of their schools be transformed into Catholic gentlemen who would form “a strong, highly cultured class of Catholic intellectuals who will, in time, leaven the whole mass of American life.”¹¹⁰ Joseph McGloin, a Midwestern Jesuit writer, desired that no misperception exist regarding the product of Jesuit schools.

109. Mehok, “Activities: 1949–1950,” *JEQ* 12, no. 4 (1950): 231.

110. Bull, “Present Tendencies,” 5.

“By a ‘gentleman’ here is not meant a superficial snob.”¹¹¹ William Bowdern, Campion High School’s rector, described these Catholic gentlemen as “young men with accuracy of mind, strength of will, power of clear thought and neat language, interested in things of the mind, refined in manner, loyal to country and to God, measuring all things with the yardstick of eternity.”¹¹²

Facilitating this formation required both precision and great effort, for the desired outcome wasn’t automatic. “It is no mere truism to say that the result of Jesuit training should be a Catholic gentleman,” wrote George Brantl, a philosopher at Woodstock College in Maryland. For it wasn’t mere academic learning that the pupil would be exposed to in the Jesuit school, but “learning rich in a Christian spirit and of Christian virtue motivated by that same learning. It is here, indeed, that we take our uncompromising stand against secularism.”¹¹³ Brantl suggested that to be formed in a Jesuit school was to be formed somewhat above and perhaps contrary to what Jesuits viewed as standard “worldly” formation, simply because their desired outcome was so very different. The key to this distinction was the transformation of human “powers and abilities ... that will make it possible for all of them to become Christian gentlemen and saints.”¹¹⁴ If the formation worked, then the expanding network of Jesuit schools across the United States would yield success; it would incarnate the vision of an alumni community in America that was both distinctively and uniquely elite and Catholic.

111. Joseph T. McGloin, S.J., *Smile at Your Own Risk* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1959), 75.

112. William S. Bowdern, S.J., “Tests of a Good Jesuit High School,” *JEQ* 2, no. 1 (1939): 32.

113. George E. Brantl, S.J., “Character Education in the Ratio Studiorum of 1599: The Ideal of the Ratio Studiorum,” *JEQ* 9, no. 2 (1946): 92.

114. McGucken, “The Present Status of the Ratio in America,” *JEQ* 1, no. 1 (1938): 5.

Crucial to that desired end was wise selection of young men for admission to high school. While the Jesuits had a clear vision of their graduates, less vivid was their image of preferred applicants. A freshman student in 1943 described the diverse makeup of the student body in his class. There were “a few boys who are very poor, and who at great trial and expense to their families are permitted to go to this high school ... There is a second class of boys of well-to-do families who realize the name and the honor of the school they are attending and try to live up to it ... Then of course there is the third class of boys belonging to the rich or well-to-do families who do not care what school they go to, provided that they do not have to work hard and do not get much homework ... Then there are the “dopes” who are flunking ... And there are the boys who try their hardest, but somehow manage to fail.”¹¹⁵

There was among some Jesuits a hope to raise the standards of their schools to eliminate this wide spectrum of student ability. They wanted the schools to be more selective, which would result in a more influential alumni base. In fact, there was a growing concern that poor selection was preventing Jesuit high schools from achieving their desired outcome and instead, “mediocrity sets the standard and pace of achievement. Even the faculty and administration have become contaminated with the self complacency of mediocrity.”¹¹⁶ G. Gordon Henderson, a Jesuit scholastic studying theology at Weston in Massachusetts, gave a rather frank assessment of the schools. He proposed that Jesuits “devote our first care to the competent students who must be prepared effectively for higher studies, or shall we strike an average and let the bright as well as the dull get what

115. Thomas A. McGrath, S.J., “The Kids Say,” *JEQ* 6, no. 2 (1943): 101-2.

116. G. Gordon Henderson, S.J., “Homogenous Grouping for a High-School Honors Course,” *JEQ* 8, no. 4 (1946): 235.

they can? There are even those who believe that the lowest ability group should have most of our attention because, it is thought, they need it most.”¹¹⁷

This was a tension which continued to be hotly debated. At an international conference on Jesuit secondary education in 1963 a group of English-speaking Jesuits believed they needed “to segregate those 12-year-old boys who show promise of becoming distinguished Catholics.”¹¹⁸ The implication was that there were other applicants who distracted attention because they did not show such promise. This led to a debate over “the question whether we should educate stupid boys; and recognized that the term ‘stupid’ is relative and hard to define. But we agreed that we should not accept into our schools boys who do not seem to be *capable of profiting* by the kind of education which we are offering.”¹¹⁹ In the United States, this debate was livelier because of the great emphasis placed upon Jesuit secondary school expansion, growth that forced the issue: “Should we or can we eliminate ‘non-college’ boys from our schools?”¹²⁰ Gabriel Barras, the rector-principal of St. John’s High School in Shreveport, Louisiana, wondered if the capacity for profiting from a Jesuit education was perhaps more widespread than his critical brethren realized. “Some of us feel an evident responsibility for the Catholic formation of such boys, though we recognize the impossibility of great intellectual achievement. I am not speaking of the boy who is kept in school merely to be kept off the streets and who has no intention of making a move toward self-improvement. None of us can afford to keep that kind. I

117. Ibid.

118. “International Conference on the Apostolate of Secondary Schools Rome, September 2nd to 4th, 1963: Special Report of English-Speaking Group” (henceforth cited as “Secondary Schools Rome”), *JEQ* 27, no. 1 (1964): 69.

119. Ibid.

120. Gabriel Barras, S.J., “Provision for Non-College High-School Students,” *JEQ* 3, no. 1 (1940): 30.

mean the boy who is mentally slow but is susceptible to moral training and a certain amount of intellectual development” (31).

Jesuits recognized that financial factors, too, influenced the selection process. Barras observed a complex group of students present in the Jesuit high school who were not college-bound but could be considered for selection, some because of the contribution of their tuition dollars. These were “(1) the intellectually fit but financially handicapped; (2) the intellectual unfit, though in many cases financially blessed” (30). That such a grouping existed within a Jesuit school was by design, at least according to Jesuit educational theorist Jaime Castiello, who observed schools to be pyramid-like, with the base containing the solid majority. The Jesuit school was reliant upon this base of “men who study and derive comparatively little benefit from their studies. A small group assimilates more and derives greater benefit. And only a relatively small number, the apex, assimilates integrally, transforms, and creates.”¹²¹ The students who composed this base within a Jesuit high school could certainly achieve the minimum: “that our students should become and should remain good Catholics. While the exact meaning of that term is not too easily determined it is clear that anything below fidelity to the laws of God and the Church is certainly failure.”¹²²

Some Jesuits were determined to promote the apex of the student body as the only reason their schools existed. Castiello cautioned against that conclusion, for “without the base, we cannot have the top of the pyramid. The fact that only a few of those who study the classics derive full benefit from them, does not mean that the others gain nothing from

121. Jaime Castiello, S.J., *A Humane Psychology of Education* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1936), 184.

122. “News,” *JEQ* 4, no. 2 (1941): 94.

such a study.”¹²³ In this pyramid vision, everyone received at least some significant benefit from formation at the Jesuit high school.

The difficulty, then, was determining both how to maintain the stability of the pyramid and how much attention the key parts were to receive. Gerald Sheahan, the principal of Saint Louis University High School, voiced concern about neglect of the apex. “If we choose from among the best of these applicants, and I certainly think we should, then we shall see a steady rise in the intellectual level of our student body. And if we concentrate on admitting such talented students, then we owe them, and we owe the community, the best in curricula, the best in teaching, the best in opportunities for creativity and leadership. If we do not intend to provide these services, we have no right to take such students.”¹²⁴ The Jesuit philosopher and president of Georgetown University, Robert Henle also believed the Jesuits were obligated to provide greater attention for the brightest, whose presence he interpreted as an act of divine providence. Bright and talented students were “a problem sent us by God Himself. For does not the bestowal on our boys of unusual gifts of mind and character, impose, by that very fact, an imperative obligation on those to whom their development is entrusted? We who know of His Providence must believe that He means, in our day, to raise up among us leaders of courage and power. And these leaders—may they not be those highly talented boys that we find in all our schools, boys who are eager and alert, susceptible of inspiration, receptive to ideas and ideals?”¹²⁵

123. Ibid.

124. Gerald R. Sheahan, S.J., “The Impact of Educational Developments on Our Jesuit Secondary Schools,” *JEQ* 24, no. 1 (1961): 16.

125. Robert J. Henle, S.J., “Stimulating the Superior Student,” *JEQ* 3, no. 1 (1940): 15.

In the ongoing and developing debate some Jesuits grew critical of bureaucratic province structures, especially province syllabi and examinations which were prepared by the prefect of studies; these, they feared, hindered gifted students and promoted mediocrity because these “examinations must be gauged for an average student. The result: there is no great stimulus for the better student since a definite minimum of subject matter is, and must be, set.”¹²⁶

Jesuits considered different options for how to better engage gifted students. Some administrators wanted to introduce an “honors course” for the best students. Others proposed homogenous grouping, for “the students who are more often neglected: the better students. If these can be grouped together and carefully guided in a well-rounded high-school course, they will become, it is hoped, precisely the student the small, intensive liberal arts college desires.”¹²⁷

Jesuits who stayed current with trends in American education saw a solution in Advanced Placement, a program established by the College Entrance Examination Board that provided college freshman credit. That a similar program wasn’t already in place within the Jesuit system seemed odd, given the historical relationship between the Society’s high schools and colleges. Jesuits reported how “leading officials of the National Advanced Placement Program are much surprised at the poor degree of co-operation between Jesuit colleges and Jesuit high schools. They believe that we have the ideal machinery for assuming leadership in advanced placement.”¹²⁸ Even the Jesuits themselves admitted to “some doubt whether we have exploited fully the cooperation between college and high

126. Henderson, “Honors Course,” 236.

127. Ibid., 238.

128. Sheahan, “Educational Developments,” 17.

school staff.”¹²⁹ There was a counterproposal to create a competing model by reconnecting with a local Jesuit college or university but this idea lacked the needed support from both high school and college, revealing a growing distance between the two and little desire to relate with one another.

Eventually in 1956, five years after AP began nationwide, William Fay, the principal of St. Xavier High School in Cincinnati, began making inquiries into the establishment of AP in Jesuit schools. In an exchange with Charles R. Keller, the national AP program director, Fay reported to the *JEQ* that the program was “nothing more than college-level courses; that it is not easy to set up the program, but where it has been done successfully, the experience has been valuable for the able students.”¹³⁰ As a result, Jesuits were slow in embracing AP, “with all of its ramifications,” implying little enthusiasm for the potential loss of autonomy that could come from an external program.¹³¹ In fact, it was not until 1965 that the JEA began to track member school usage of it.

In addition to raising the standards of selectivity and offering college credit, Jesuits hoped to improve the formation experience they offered through their schools. Thomas J. Sullivan, a fourth-year theologian at the Jesuit’s Alma College in California, believed that American Jesuit schools should provide a more selective formation in order to produce their desired outcome. This meant teaching “subjects in which an educated ‘elite’ should be interested.”¹³² A precise formation that was both American *and* Catholic would provide for a “Catholic Hour” and a “new spirit to Jesuitry in America.” Sullivan zealously

129. William C. McCusker, S.J., “The High School Comments,” *JEQ* 25, no. 1 (1962): 30.

130. William F. Fay, S.J., “The Gifted Student and the Principal,” *JEQ* 19, no. 1 (1956): 43.

131. *Ibid.*, 46.

132. Sullivan, “Alumnus,” 223.

imagined an “organization of real Catholic gentlemen ... a hundred thousand men—militant Catholics, veritable Jesuits—who have a genuine social and political philosophy that will function for the good of the Church and also the temporal and earthly good of the nation and of civilization.”¹³³ Fervor like his sometimes rubbed against of the reality of Jesuit education. Said Louis Bannan, Jesuit graduate student of education at Catholic University of America, responding to such enthusiasm, “Can it be said that these objectives ... are impractical unless we go back to training the *selecti quidem*?” [the assuredly select]¹³⁴

In the early 1960s the father general, John Janssens, addressed the participants of an Italian educational conference. He expressed how the Society was obligated to form this *selecti quidem* for the good of the universal Catholic church, for “where there is lacking a Catholic lay elite, the Church cannot long endure ... It is our task to form this responsible elite.”¹³⁵ In response, some Jesuits voiced their discomfort with ‘elite’ being applied to the products of their schools. “The declaration of this aim leads to the charge that we are interested only in the ‘aristocracy.’”¹³⁶ Yet they recognized simultaneously that the membership of the greater culture too were “keenly interested in the aristocracy of ‘brains’ and leadership ... it should be remembered that the Church too has similar interests” (56). Given that these people were a limited resource, the Society needed them in order to fulfill its mission.

The general replied that he had in mind a particular kind of elite, *insignes*, “to designate the kind of man we are trying to form in our colleges” (54). The difference, he

133. Ibid., 224.

134. Bannan, “Objectives,” 55.

135. Janssens, “An Address on Education,” *JEQ* 25, no. 4 (1963): 209.

136. “Secondary Schools Rome,” 56.

implied, was that elite aristocracy was interested in accumulating power. An elite Catholic *insigne* was instead interested in having cultural influence. This understanding “does not necessarily imply the accession to leadership ... in political or economico-social policy” (54). More importantly, these citizens “must always be a ferment which transforms the whole social mass.”¹³⁷ The hope was for people to regard such a person coming from a Jesuit school as “distinguished, outstanding, as a man by his culture and his effective influence, and as a Christian.”¹³⁸ Janssens acknowledged that while graduates may or may not be future financial or political leaders they would be elite *insignes* “by the use they have made of their moral and intellectual gifts, by the development of these gifts in school; and in the use of them after school.”¹³⁹

In the United States, most Jesuits believed that establishing a respected Catholic elite required social acceptance by the greater American culture. Educators were entrusted with this tricky task of emulating what they perceived as good within culture and then contextualizing it within faith. According to Robert Hartnett, a political scientist at Fordham, this best occurred if the Jesuits offered “an *American* Catholic education. The cultural value of certain kinds of learning is partly dependent on social acceptance. There is a wisdom in the better elements of the social group, in the cultural *elite*, which gives value to this or that type of cultural acquisition.”¹⁴⁰

There were two difficulties that Jesuits encountered. The first was that they had yet to decide what exactly constituted an American Catholic education. If they and their

137. Castiello, *Humane Psychology*, 185–86.

138. “Secondary Schools Rome,” 54.

139. *Ibid.*, 68.

140. Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., “Amending the Liberal College” (henceforth cited as “Liberal College”), *JEQ* 6, no. 3 (1944): 141.

schools were to be taken seriously, they needed to adapt. Henle opined that American Jesuits and their schools had yet to achieve the depth of success of which they were truly capable. “I believe there is latent power in our traditions and our organization which we have not as yet fully realized or applied here in America. I envision a Jesuit high-school education that would not only be superior to all others, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, but also to our own past successes.”¹⁴¹ What Henle proposed was actually more than mere adaptation. He saw in the network of Jesuit schools an opportunity to surpass the present structures of American education in their entirety. Henle believed that Jesuit schools could propel beyond adaptation; they had within them the potential to become the elite of the elite.

Yet adaptation was the present means to the pursuit of such a lofty vision. In the field of Jesuit education there certainly was resistance to and skepticism of American education’s valuing of “Dewey permissivism, of supermarket electivism, of curriculum integration by juxtaposition.”¹⁴² Louis Bannan, a Jesuit political scientist at Fordham, found accommodation to the American system odd when “our system of education as a whole is far superior to the ordinary secondary schools throughout the country.”¹⁴³ Leo Shea, the dean at the College of the Holy Cross, offered his assessment of the public school system. “... It must be recognized that there is a large number of public high-school instructors whose teaching efficiency, standards of work, or personal concern in developing the mental skills and learning capacities of the individual student, leave much to be

141. Henle, “Superior Student,” 15.

142. Sheahan, “Educational Developments,” 16.

143. Bannan, “Objectives,” 54.

desired.”¹⁴⁴ The Jesuits faulted American private schooling, too. W. Eugene Shiels, a Jesuit history professor and an associate editor of the Jesuits’ *America* magazine, attacked at the highest level when he critiqued a collection of student addresses by Harvard President James Bryan Conant. The review was scathing. “One might expect to find between these covers some dynamic message for educators or the American public ... If that message lies here, the reviewer has not yet uncovered it ...”¹⁴⁵ He described Conant’s work as demonstrative of “the ideological bent and banality typical of a considerable class of educational leaders in America, who are, no doubt, competent administrators, but who have not worthwhile educational philosophy because they have no clear philosophy of life” (249).

Despite the criticism, some Jesuits recognized that transformation was already at work within the Jesuit system but resistance was strong. Hartnett pondered, “It is possible to take a supercilious attitude towards modern America, but it will get us nowhere. We are the ones who will be left high and dry if we do not get in the swim, without, of course, sacrificing anything essential that we can save” (249). Gerald Sheahan of Saint Louis University High School wanted Jesuit schools to immerse themselves in the contemporary world of education. “We should be in the vanguard of most of these movements to stiffen and enrich the high school curriculum ... However, are we in the vanguard?”¹⁴⁶

The second challenge the Jesuits faced in their relating to American culture was in distinguishing between an American cultural elite and an American Catholic elite. There

144. Leo Shea, S.J., “The Freshman Dean Evaluates the High-School Product,” *JEQ* 5, no. 1 (1942): 73.

145. W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., “Three Books of the Quarter: Our Fighting Faith,” *JEQ* 5, no. 4 (1943): 248.

146. Sheahan, “Educational Developments,” 16.

was very much a growing sense that the boys who were coming to Jesuit schools were increasingly products of very successful parents. In the mid-1940s James Markey, a scholastic theologian at Alma College in California, observed that the typical boy coming to the Jesuit school is “a well-bred, neatly garbed, pleasant-mannered youngster of a good middle bracket American Catholic home. His parents are amiable, self-sacrificing, sincere people. In most cases they are too good, too self-sacrificing ... The boy has had everything he has ever needed and just about everything he has ever wanted.”¹⁴⁷ With typical students like these, some Jesuits wondered if they were capable of emphasizing “the *Catholic ideal of success*.”¹⁴⁸ It was a difficult balance the schools tried to maintain. On the one hand, “there was the clearly discernible Jesuit tradition, handed on from one generation to another, conservative for the most part ... On the other hand, there were factors at work on the American scene itself; namely, the spirit of democracy and the spirit of practicality.”¹⁴⁹ By the 1960s, Jesuits were aware that regarding their student population, there was both an opportunity and a challenge to be reckoned with. “The critical third generation of American Catholics is appearing in our schools and is in position to make mature use of the opportunities” of their schools.¹⁵⁰

Increasingly, those boys wanted more than what they thought a Jesuit school could provide and they progressively moved from their Jesuit high school into non-Jesuit higher education. However, Jesuits expected their high school students to continue their education by matriculating at Jesuit colleges and universities, so there was discouragement

147. James J. Markey, S.J., “Sports in Our High Schools,” *JEQ* 9, no. 2 (1946): 105.

148. John P. Delaney, S.J., “Developing a Social Sense in Our Students,” *JEQ* 5, no. 1 (1942): 51.

149. McGucken, *Jesuits and Education*, 145.

150. Joseph F. Downey, S.J., “The Loyola JEA Meeting April 17–18, 1960,” *JEQ* 23, no. 1 (1960): 7.

from pursuing secular private or public higher education. Historically, this expected continuity of relationship between the Jesuit high school and college was regarded as a truism. William Marnell, a professor of Latin and Greek at Boston Latin School, noted that a principal difference between Boston Latin and a Jesuit high school was that Boston Latin was “a more accurate mirror of the community as a whole than a school run under religious auspices can be.”¹⁵¹ He observed that the Jesuit system was designed to be self-sustaining. “Jesuit high-school graduates tend to enter Jesuit colleges. Public Latin School graduates go everywhere.”¹⁵² It was a commonplace that Jesuit high school administrators would not recommend seniors who wanted to apply to non-Catholic schools and that administrators were increasingly alarmed as their graduates became more and more successful, the source of what Jesuits saw as vocationalism. In his reflection on academic objectives, Louis Bannan wondered if administrators shouldn’t be more explicit in their expectations for Jesuit higher education. “When the suitability of objectives is being considered, do we have in mind, keeping boys from public schools? making our schools a financial success? ... [and] training leaders who will be graduates of Jesuit universities?”¹⁵³

This apprehension was articulated first at the principals’ institute in 1947 when the *JEQ* reported that “concern was expressed about boys going to non-Catholic colleges. Moreover, the principals would like to see more scholarships offered to our graduates by Jesuit colleges.”¹⁵⁴ Over the years, the constant explanation was that bright students were overlooking the Jesuit colleges because of perceived limited options. “It is a particular

151. William H. Marnell, “Boston Latin School: An Educational Survival,” *JEQ* 4, no. 4 (1942): 167.

152. *Ibid.*

153. Bannan, “Objectives,” 54–55.

154. Alphonsus C. Yumont, S.J., “A Teacher Looks at Academic Standards,” *JEQ* 10, no. 1 (1947):

course, often a course not available in a Catholic college, which is the leading motive in drawing students to non-Catholic colleges.”¹⁵⁵ The solution was to offer scholarships to Jesuit high school graduates and to promote the specific programs like business, engineering, and medicine that were increasingly available at the colleges and universities. Gerald Sheahan noted that some of his fellow principals were reluctant to embrace the Advanced Placement system because allowing gifted students the opportunity to take AP exams “would increase the danger of losing these students to the Ivy League colleges.”¹⁵⁶ William McCusker advocated instead for Jesuit colleges and universities to offer courses specifically for gifted Jesuit high students. “This would make far easier and more successful our attempts to direct our students to Catholic and Jesuit colleges.”¹⁵⁷

However, as the number of students attending non-Jesuit schools continued to increase, administrators blamed the exodus on the misperception that their schools had limited programs, but they did not seem to acknowledge that their best students perhaps saw something socially advantageous in going outside the Jesuit system. As described by Cornelius Carr, the principal of McQuaid High School in Rochester and later the province director of studies for high schools for the Buffalo Province, “Whether it ranks high or not on a popularity poll, boys have a strong desire to belong to the elite of their society ... A boy seeks rewards within the framework of *his* world, not his teacher’s, whether it be in terms of popularity, being admitted into the circle of elite, or something else.”¹⁵⁸

155. “Colleges Attended by 1947 Jesuit High School Graduates,” *JEQ* 11, no. 4 (1949): 249.

156. Sheahan, “Advanced Standing Programs for Able High-School Seniors,” *JEQ* 20, no. 3 (1958): 165-66.

157. McCusker, “Comments,” 30.

158. Cornelius J. Carr, S.J., “Contemporaneity: A Challenge for Our High Schools,” *JEQ* 27, no. 4 (1965): 216.

Increasingly, it seemed that the elite they wanted to belong to was more American and less Catholic. Increased student affluence complicated the Society's mission, as reflected in Jesuit Charles Leahy's assessment of the religious atmosphere of the schools. "In our day and on our campuses, recreation, reading, athletics, pleasure in general (though it be innocent in itself), and preparation for future material security must come under the influence of the religious spirit or else our work in the classroom will result, at best, in sterile intellectual knowledge, leaving the will in a state of indifference to, if not of disgust for spiritual values."¹⁵⁹ Some Jesuits were concerned that students were motivated in their high schools to make choices "in the light of the respective incomes of engineers, scientists, lawyers, etc.," but without adequate consideration for the religious ideals Jesuits hoped to transmit.¹⁶⁰

At their national meeting in 1952 Jesuits revisited what they now admitted was an urgent problem and what they viewed as the pathway to a competing elite. They wondered "what to do to discourage students from going to non-Catholic colleges."¹⁶¹ In his address at the 1964 JEA meeting at Georgetown, Roman Bernert, professor of secondary education at Marquette University, pointed out to the delegates that "all too often these better and more ambitious students go off to secular institutions."¹⁶² That student character qualities like "better" and "ambitious" were among the fruits of Jesuit secondary school expansion gave some Jesuits pause because they were indicators of an emerging crisis that touched

159. Charles E. Leahy, S.J., "The Religious Atmosphere of a Jesuit High School," *JEQ* 2, no. 3 (1939): 130.

160. *Ibid.*

161. Mehok, "Annual Meeting 1952, 23.

162. R. A. Bernert, S.J., "The Impact of Secondary School Curriculum Developments on Articulation with College Programs," *JEQ* 27, no. 1 (1964): 26.

upon their schools' curriculum and culture and the contribution they hoped their influential elite insignes would make to the world.

Chapter 3

Four Crises

As they entered into the 1960s Jesuits and their high schools faced four different crises that led eventually to the order's reassessment of its educational mission and ultimately, to corporate trauma that contributed eventually to the creative transformation of Jesuit secondary education in America. In this context, a crisis signifies events that were unforeseen, unpredictable and seemingly unmanageable within the Jesuit order and its apostolic works. The first was centered upon the place of the classical curriculum in the schools. The second involved the school culture and its relationship to institutional and Jesuit identity. The third considered the contribution the schools and their alumni made to the common good of American society and the level of commitment Jesuit alumni demonstrated in the engagement of their surrounding greater communities. The final crisis engaged the question of the relevance of Jesuit education in contemporary American Catholic life. The chapter concludes by introducing the emerging response of the Jesuits who more and more were experiencing the resulting traumatic effects of the crises: the feelings of loss of control, powerlessness, and helplessness. The Jesuits examined these crises through internal discussions that took place in the *Jesuit Educational Quarterly*, the publication this chapter principally engages for source material.

Crisis of Curriculum

Jesuits believed that their high schools were distinctive not only in being Catholic, but perhaps principally because of the emphasis they placed upon the study of Latin and

Greek language and literature. Classical languages and literature were a hallmark of Jesuit schooling, “consistently held since the time of St. Ignatius as to be considered the second principle of the *Ratio* ... Latin and Greek classics and scholastic philosophy are constants in any educational planning, because they offer abiding and universal values for human training.”¹ In the United States, Jesuits prided themselves on leading classical schools “in a country where the classics are daily losing ground! The American Jesuits have the only system of schools in the United States—Catholic or secular—that demands Latin of all its pupils.”²

As they adapted, Jesuit high schools in America came to offer a variety of course curricula. A student would eventually pursue either a classical, modern language, English, or scientific diploma. Some Jesuits were highly critical that such diverse curricula were available in the Jesuit system for they believed multiple courses risked weakening the distinctive classical identity of their schools. Hartford Brucker, the principal of Loyola Academy, Chicago, felt this created “confusion in the mind of the student to whom our Jesuit objectives should be perfectly clear, but also so obscures our ideal ... which makes a Jesuit school distinctive, namely, the cultural, with Latin and Greek as principal tools.”³ Brucker advised Jesuit administrators that they could maintain their classical program if they were courageous and strict, taking the time to explain the value of a curriculum backed by a “definite and sufficiently uncompromising administrative policy.”⁴

1. Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 403 (see chap. 2, n. 21).

2. McGucken, “Ratio,” 36 (see chap. 2, n. 110).

3. Hartford F. Brucker, S.J., “The Classical Curriculum in the High School,” *JEQ* 2, no. 1 (1939): 56.

4. *Ibid.*

The *JEQ* contained decades of debates pitting classical Jesuit educators against proponents of progressive curricular change. What fueled this division is what Jesuit historian John O'Malley describes as a difference in historical understanding. Classical-minded Jesuits believed that the Church was "immune to process or to change in doctrine and discipline."⁵ In the context of Jesuit education, that interpretation suggested that stable, sturdy classical education was to persist smoothly and unscathed, as a "voyage through history ... untouched by history" (590-91). This historical understanding was contrary to what O'Malley calls historical consciousness, which desacralized the past and promoted instead a deep awareness of historical discontinuity. Historical consciousness recognized that classical education was "the product of very specific and unrepeated contingencies ... contained within very definite historical limits" (597).

Classicists saw their position as crucial for the future continuity of Catholic culture in America. They felt the Society of Jesus was responsible for the formation of the young soldiers who would be charged with protecting that culture. "Latin is the language of the Catholic liturgy and the Catholic literature, philosophical and theological; and as such should be part of the ordinary equipment of the members of the Church militant."⁶ They also believed that Greek and Latin opened their students to the best of all literature, which would in turn contribute to their formation into the Catholic elite in America. "The conscientious reading of the best authors ... unconsciously engenders in us an instinct for

5. O'Malley, "Reform, Historical Consciousness, and Vatican II's Aggiornamento," *Theological Studies* 32 (1971): 590.

6. Paedagogus [pseud.], "Is Latin Worth Fighting For?" *JEQ* 4, no. 2 (1941): 80.

perfect expression.”⁷ Those future leaders who best communicated in the world would tremendously benefit the Jesuits’ work. If the Society abandoned the classical curriculum, these Jesuits feared the resulting loss of cultural influence. John Rock, a Jesuit graduate student of classics at Boston College, forewarned, “Break with the ancients, and the Catholic humanistic culture of America will have the stunted growth and petty influence of a pigmy.”⁸

Historically-conscious Jesuits criticized classical education in favor of progressive pedagogy. The classics were an anachronism; abandoning it would enable Jesuits to be “freed from the past ... to appropriate what we find helpful and to reject what we find harmful.”⁹ They believed students were not receiving the intended benefits of classical study, and they often cast blame on their fellow Jesuit teachers, whom they felt “far too frequently have failed to impart to the students a deep and lasting appreciation of the glories of Greek and Roman culture.”¹⁰ The fervor for saving the curriculum was strangely absent when compared to the apparent drudgery of everyday teaching of classical material. Some readers of the *JEQ* concurred, wondering if classics were under attack not because they were out of date but because “they are poorly taught by poorly prepared and unenthusiastic teachers.”¹¹ They pointed to the fact that less than 50 percent of their high school students matriculating at the Jesuit colleges and universities in 1942 continued their classical studies, a phenomenon that they saw as evidence for the need to reexamine its presence in the high schools. Robert Hartnett, political scientist at Fordham, accused

7. Aurelio Espinosa Polit, S.J., “The Importance of Literature in Education,” *JEQ* 5, no. 2 (1942): 126.

8. John P. Rock, S.J., “The Classics and Catholic Tradition,” *JEQ* 4, no. 4 (1942): 175.

9. O’Malley, “Reform,” 597.

10. Gerald B. Garvey, S.J., “The Adequacy of Our High-School Program,” *JEQ* 3, no. 1 (1940): 23.

11. Allan P. Farrell, “Readers’ Survey,” 228 (see chap. 2, n. 47).

classicist Jesuits for “a blind belief in an almost infallible efficacy of language study.”¹² He reminded them that the early Jesuits who composed the *Ratio Studiorum* were responding to the needs of their time and that they saw the classics as a response to those needs. “Were they to survey our situation, I am sure they would not produce a curriculum so foreign to our needs ... Would that we were as brave!”¹³

As Jesuits examined their schools in the post-World War II period they discussed the possibility of lowering the Latin requirement. They agreed that Latin should be an essential for the first two years of high school, but some Jesuits hoped that for those students who were less-gifted, Latin could be dropped after sophomore year, for “not by Latin alone or essentially is a boy humanized and Christianized and educated.”¹⁴ The classicists despised this proposal, advising Jesuit leadership to watch the public schools’ unfolding reaction to post-war America as evidenced by potential shifts in curriculum focus; the public schools’ response potentially contained an opportune moment for the Society of Jesus to exercise great influence. In his reflection, Arthur Evans, the principal at Rockhurst High School in Kansas City, believed that public schools adaptation of curriculum would bestow upon Jesuit schools the recognition of being “the last bulwark of cultural education and leadership” in America, enabling them to “take the cultural lead in the postwar world.”¹⁵ While Evans favored Jesuit schools offering diverse curricula as a means of keeping the greatest number of boys in Catholic schools, he wanted it known that the presence of non-classical curricula in a Jesuit school was for financial reasons,

12. Hartnett, “Liberal College,” 187 (see chap. 2, n. 136).

13. Ibid.

14. Allen P. Farrell, “Postwar Planning,” 14 (see chap. 2, n. 27).

15. Evans, “Credo,” 18 (see chap. 2, n. 87).

“tolerated merely to stabilize enrollment.”¹⁶ Robert Evans, a later principal at Rockhurst High, felt reassured in maintaining the status quo. “Through 400 years of educational service we have met national crises and through them all maintained a classical tradition. I see no reason why we cannot do the same now. We have never had to apologize for those who cooperated with our training ... I see no need for a radical change in our traditional high-school curriculum, either during or after the war.”¹⁷

Henry St. C. Lavin, a theologian at West Baden, Indiana, reminded *Quarterly* readers of the disillusionment after the First World War where the aftermath was destructive of faith “in the whole business of life, in whatever people had trusted.”¹⁸ He believed that the Jesuits’ classical, literary form of education would provide the new post-World War II generation with protection from what he sensed was looming moral decay and financial excess. Jesuit training would offer “a sense of tradition and a knowledge of human nature. And these will be helps to guide the postwar generation though the difficult time of reintegration. There is a terrible need to save youth from another debacle of the twenties and their sequel, the Depression.”¹⁹

That this vision did not come to be fully realized frustrated many Jesuits, and they were not sure whom or what to blame. G. Gordon Henderson, a Weston College theologian, assessed that there were growing indicators that the classics “are either proving themselves a poor instrument for preparing the American boy for college, or that we are

16. Ibid.

17. Evans, “Beating the Gun,” *JEQ* 5, no. 1 (1942): 79.

18. Henry St. C. Lavin, S.J., “Education for Peace,” *JEQ* 7, no. 4 (1945): 243.

19. Ibid., 244.

proving ourselves poor teachers of the classics on the high-school level.”²⁰ It was perhaps easier to direct criticism away from the high schools and toward outside worldly influences, as some principals did at the Denver Institute of 1947, an occasional national gathering of Jesuit high school leaders. The *JEQ* recorded one principal dismissing American culture as “still in the juvenile age of development.”²¹ This reality justified high school Jesuits reevaluating the study of Greek, for it “may be justly considered too mature a medium for a great number of American boys,” because “American intellectual and social life have reached the cultural nadir.”²² The curriculum was above the culture so questions of its relevancy were dismissed through criticism of student capability. Jesuit Joseph Costelloe lamented the poor Greek capacity of his college students, hinting that high school Greek was fruitless for all but the very best students. “I am afraid that in many of our colleges the summit of Hellenic activity is reached by many a student in decoding the Greek letters of a rival fraternity (or sorority).”²³

The outcome was to emphasize the need to preserve Latin study for all students, but not Greek, and this regardless of the particular course diploma. In other words, if a student were following the classical, Latin or scientific, or general course, he would be expected to complete at least two years of Latin. In the 1949-1950 school year, the percentage of students taking Latin was nearly 91 percent, “the highest proportion in the time covered by these studies,” a sign of apparent success.²⁴ However, the same article noted that there was simultaneously a steady decrease in enrollment in the past four years,

20. Henderson, “Honors Course,” 235 (see chap. 2, n. 112).

21. “Denver Institute, 148 (see chap. 2, n. 64).

22. *Ibid.*, 150.

23. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., “High-School Greek Classics in Translation,” *JEQ* 9, no. 4 (1947): 230.

24. Mehok, “Activities: 1949-1950,” 237 (see chap. 2, n. 105).

suggestive of decreasing enthusiasm for Jesuit education. At the following year's annual JEA meeting in Chicago, high school Jesuits continued to raise the topic of the value of classical curriculum. Charles T. Taylor, the principal of Regis High School in New York City, reported that for the first time he could remember, Jesuit teachers were "forced to search their souls for arguments on the intrinsic worth of the classical course."²⁵ Taylor's comment sparked a heated debate, so much so that the recorder noted how "remarks from the floor could not be termed discussion, in the sense of a clash of ideas" (33). This "apparent lack of a common meeting ground" was the beginning of strong division within the Society over what Jesuits believed was the distinctive feature of their schools in America (34). Greek was already devalued except for the very best of students, and some Jesuits feared that soon Latin would be lost.

It was a justified concern at the high school level based on Jesuit college and university movements. In 1956 the *JEQ* reported that at the university in Omaha "many graduates cannot translate the Latin words on their diplomas. Henceforth, diplomas at Creighton University will be written in English."²⁶ At Saint Louis an influential Jesuit scholar, George Ganss, suggested in his persuasive book, *St. Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, that colleges use classical literature in English translation. A high school Jesuit teacher, befuddled by George Ganss' proposal, predicted a preposterous end result. M.J. Fitzsimons felt that "if classics in translation are to be the diet in the college, out goes all Latin in the secondary schools. What will be substituted? –surely not 'social studies'—bless

25. Paul J. Swick, S.J., "Digest of Proceedings: Secondary Schools," *JEQ* 13, no. 1 (1950): 33.

26. "News," *JEQ* 19, no. 1 (1956): 59.

the name!”²⁷ Fitzsimons represented a population within the American Jesuit community who believed it behooved the Society to clamp down upon and hold steady to their traditional curriculum. This position is evident in the Jesuits’ 1958 Principals Institute, whose proceedings were covered by Denver’s city newspaper, *The Rocky Mountain News*. Jack Gaskie reported in the August 6, 1958 edition that “In the face of recent demands for more teaching of Russian in American schools, the Jesuits have brought out a new series of Greek textbooks.”²⁸ In his reaction to the article, Cornelius Carr, the principal of St. Peter’s Prep in Jersey City, delighted in what some might otherwise interpret as a condemnation of ignorant stubbornness. Carr believed that behind Gaskie’s words “lay the flattering truth that this meeting was part of no sputnik-inspired crash program designed to modernize or Americanize the *Ratio Studiorum*. Here was rather a conclave of men with a common traditional caste of educational thought, backed by four centuries of successful experience, who were meeting for one more periodic evaluation of their efforts, acutely aware, however, of the various educational currents swirling about them.”²⁹

Fear of the modern and American influences motivated other Jesuits to join in emphasizing the need to protect the traditional curriculum, for without it, they believed, the Society offered nothing distinctive in the field of education. Out of deep concern for the status of Latin in Jesuit schools, Leonard Waters joined in Fitzsimons’ critique of George Ganss, whose work Waters saw as “a kind of tentative public statement of our apostasy from Latin study on the pleas that it is no longer an effective tool for the

27. M.J. Fitzsimons, S.J., “The Spirit and the Letter,” *JEQ* 17, no. 4 (1955): 217.

28. Jack Gaskie, “Jesuits Stress Key Role of Education,” *Rocky Mountain News*, August 6, 1958, Denver Public Library Archives.

29. Carr, “J.E.A. Principals’ Institute: Regis, Denver—1958,” *JEQ* 21, no. 3 (1959): 133.

conversion of souls.”³⁰ Waters believed that Ganss’ thinking was highly contagious and therefore capable of infecting the whole system of Jesuit education. Without Latin, Jesuits had “abandoned the whole outlook of liberal arts” (93). For Waters, however, it wasn’t merely about the language; the significance ran much deeper. “We have not lost Latin; we have lost our key to tradition.” (96). Without the tradition, Waters’ position was that the Society was insincere in its educational apostolate. With despair, he suggested the Society “act as a body and drop not Latin alone but the sham liberal arts program with it” (97).

This issue continued to be a source of tremendous division and confusion. At different times the classical curriculum was presented as the ideal only to be immediately dismissed for being dated and problematic. For example, in 1960 Robert Harvanek, in his role as chairman of the JEA’s executive committee, reported that “the four-year Latin program combined with Greek should continue to be considered the heart of Jesuit high school education.”³¹ A year later Gerald Sheahan of Saint Louis wondered about the role of modern languages in Jesuit high schools. He anticipated that the classics would benefit from competition; it would force better teaching and allow the gifted students to have sole access to advancement through classical study. “I vote for putting modern languages on an equal footing with the ancient languages.”³²

Further complicating the debate was the father general’s 1962 letter on the use of Latin. While he did not address the issue regarding the teaching of Latin in Jesuit schools, he made very clear the expectation that Latin be studied and used within the Society. The general emphasized how “there is no room for uncertainty” on his position and he advised

30. Leonard A. Waters, S.J., “Latin and the Liberal Arts Objective,” *JEQ* 22, no. 2 (1959): 93.

31. Harvanek, “Changing Structure,” 81 (see chap. 2, n. 30).

32. Sheahan, “Educational Developments,” 18 (see chap. 2, n. 120).

the Jesuits to “not think that this is a ‘mere formality,’ as they say. In the Society’s mode of government or in the Society’s obedience there should never be any pretense. Sincere obedience, however, while it strives to be manly and straightforward, sets itself to learn the intentions of those in authority, then to make those intentions its own both in intellect and will, and finally to carry them out wholeheartedly.”³³

While the general had spoken about the matter internally, in the schools it continued to be immensely publicly divisive. The fight continued. In 1964, Gilbert French wanted to rally the classicists “to begin *now* to retaliate and to save their subject, while there is still time, while Latin and Greek are still a tradition, while there are still enough who believe that they have a unique and intrinsic value of their own. For if reform is not done soon, within the next few generations the multitude of disparagers will conquer ... and will win them over into their camp of scorn.”³⁴ Indeed, the issue was hot and the JEA did not want to touch it. At its 1964 Institute for administrators at the University of Santa Clara, the JEA formed a committee to examine the contentious debate. However, the issue had become so politically poisonous that “the Committee did not take a partisan stand on Latin ... it suggested putting in the hands of local officials the choice of language and the relative emphasis to be given to it.”³⁵

33. Janssens, “Address of Very Reverend Father General to All Major Superiors on the Study and Use of Latin,” *Woodstock Letters* 92, no. 1 (1963): 3.

34. Gilbert G. French, S.J., “The Classics Today: A Relic or a Tradition?” *JEQ* 26, no. 4 (1964): 250.

35. Lorenzo K. Reed, S.J., “JEA Institute for High-School Administrators University of Santa Clara—August 2–13, 1964,” *JEQ* 27, no. 2 (1964): 115.

Crisis of Culture

Historically, the culture of Jesuit schools thrived upon activity that supplemented strong curriculum. Athletics, sodalities, and Jesuit example contributed to robust culture within the schools. Jesuit schools always placed value upon student engagement in extracurricular activity. Among the early European Jesuit schools these experiences occurred through academies, which served as “a means of intellectual stimulation and entertainment for the holidays ... for encouraging original work and personal initiative.”³⁶ In the American context, extracurriculars became valuable growth experiences for the whole school year, the goal of which was “to complement and supplement the curriculum.”³⁷ While Jesuits meant for these activities to contribute to a deeper humanistic formation they also saw in them a means to deepen religious influence in society, regardless of the activity. For example, Charles Robinson encouraged his Jesuit brothers in 1938 to create both curricular and extracurricular programs that recognized the importance placed upon increasingly popular radio, despite warnings from the father general that Jesuits “should be chary about allowing the radio ... The facts show that these amusements easily do harm but rarely are beneficial.”³⁸ Robinson believed Jesuits were obliged to invest in this work with their students, for “as watch-dogs of the Papacy, we must continue to guard against this great power of radio becoming a tool of Satan, rather than another useful instrument in the service of Jesus Christ.”³⁹

36. Joseph R. N. Maxwell, S.J., “Extracurricular Activities,” *JEQ* 10, no. 1 (1947): 41.

37. Edward D. Horgan, S.J., “Extracurricular Activities in the Jesuit High School,” *JEQ* 21, no. 2 (1958): 80.

38. Janssens, “Address of Very Reverend Father General to the Congregation of Procurators, September 30, 1950,” *Woodstock Letters* 80, no. 3 (1951): 221.

39. Charles A. Robinson, S.J., “Radio and Education,” *JEQ* 1, no. 2 (1938): 35.

Robust athletic programs are activities most often associated with Jesuit high schools in the present era. Historically, while Jesuits sometimes questioned the value of athletics at the college and university level, this was not so at their high schools. Cornelius Carr held the Society obligated “to develop the minds of our boys through a graduated curriculum, their emotional stability through a regulated spiritual and social life, and their physical powers through gymnastics and competitive sports.”⁴⁰ Yet there was always a lurking temptation for “abuse found even among Ours” for excessive concern for sports, noted the Father General Janssens, in his *Instructio* to American Jesuits. Carr acknowledged the “tremendous prestige value” that athletics offered the Jesuit school, and that they bolstered school morale. He expressed apprehension over the “athletic ‘caste problem’ in schools: ... the attitude among the school athletes that they are a group slightly apart and above the rest” (31). Guarding the schools from such athletic separatism would keep athletes “schooled in excellence, fully developed in soul and mind as well as in body, rather than trousered apes or muscular mercenaries” (34). It was important, therefore, that athletics be monitored so that sports didn’t become the activity most identifiable with American Jesuit schooling.

Of all activities in American Jesuit high schools, the “most distinguished extracurricular, an organization that has its unquestionable place in Jesuit schools of the past and present,” was the Sodality of Our Lady, the activity that was critical to the elite focus of Jesuit education.⁴¹ It was an internal microcosm of the external influence the Jesuits hoped their best alumni would have in the world. The sodality was “composed of

40. Carr, “Brawn on our Campus,” *JEQ* 19, no. 1 (1956): 27.

41. Joseph E. Perri, S.J., “Theory and Practice of Extracurricular Activities,” *JEQ* 21, no. 2 (1958): 74.

the elite” within the school who were trained to serve as the leaven, the influential “source of material for other activities,” meaning that membership within the elite Sodality was necessary for participation in any other school organization.⁴² In the *Woodstock Letters* Josef Stierli noted that the Sodality made of the elite demands which were more than average “and consequently it mobilizes a high idealism which is never something to be found in the large mass ... The elite character of the Sodality has been proposed as a problem of many discussions in past years. There is actually no problem. The Sodality is an elite phenomenon because it is an ideal carried over effectively into practical life.”⁴³

The overall purpose of the Sodality was to produce “a Catholic entirely devoted to Christ and Mary, a Catholic who in every situation thinks, judges, and acts according to the principles of Jesus Christ.”⁴⁴ The religious purpose of the sodality was to encourage three dimensions of growth in the lives of participating students: personal sanctification, the sanctification of others, and the defense of the Catholic Church. The social purpose of the sodality was slightly different. Francis Rabaut, the moderator of the Sodality at Loyola Academy, observed that in every school “there exists or there tends to exist a group of boys who are lazy, opposed to the administration, and who in spiritual matters tend to practice the minimum. This group with the lowest ideals is frequently the most vocal in the student body” (56-57). The sodality served socially to squelch negative influence and become “an effective check upon this demoralizing force in the school ... Through a flourishing

42. Maxwell, “Extracurricular,” 42.

43. Josef Stierli, S.J., “Devotion to Mary in the Sodality,” *Woodstock Letters* 82, no. 1 (1951): 23.

44. Francis D. Rabaut, S.J., “Place and Function of Sodality in Jesuit High Schools,” *JEQ* 16, no. 1 (1953): 53.

Sodality the entire tone in the student body undergoes quite a radical change for the better” (57).

Jesuits depended upon the sodality to prepare their students for Catholic influence in post-high school life as “prolongations and multiplications of ourselves,” which they believed would further the Jesuit mission.⁴⁵ They wanted the sodality to be “nothing more than Jesuit spirit and life adapted to the layman” (243). To maintain its effectiveness Jesuits needed to monitor constantly the lived experiences of their lay students and alumni so that they could adapt the sodality to meet current needs. David Hassell, a Jesuit doctoral student at Saint Louis University, acknowledged that this capacity to read the times and adapt the sodality would prove challenging for Jesuits because the years of separation required for their formation made it taxing to relate to the “noisy and dirty arena” filled with “tough problems of the layman.” Hassell recognized this relating as crucial, however. “We cannot hover above them and their problems, remaining immaculately clean, sweet-smelling, vacuously cheerful, cozily comfortable. We must get down into the dirt, sweat and tears of their lives and help them live” (244).

The crucial position of the sodality in the Jesuit high school began to change in the early 1960s. In 1962 John Becker, a Jesuit at Saint Mary’s College in Kansas, described the experience of one sodality prefect. He observed that “something is wrong. Something is tearing the Sodality apart from within, making it a useless, empty, failing organization.”⁴⁶ In his response to this observation, Becker saw first an identity crisis for the activity itself, the result of an overextension of activity options, which toppled the sodality’s primacy of place

45. David J. Hassell, S.J., “The Sodalities of the Future,” *JEQ* 21, no. 4 (1959), 244.

46. John E. Becker, S.J., “The High School Sodality Dilemma,” *JEQ* 25, no. 1 (1962): 57.

within the high school. He also saw a concurrent identity crisis developing in the Jesuit moderators themselves. “I have heard Jesuit teachers say more than once ... that they simply didn’t know what to do, in spite of elaborate meeting outlines prefabricated and furnished by the administration, in a sodality meeting” (60). The fruit of this confusion, Becker said, was for students to increasingly dismiss the value of the sodality because they felt it had already been dismissed by the Jesuit moderators. The result was a downward spiral for what had been regarded as the pinnacle of a flourishing Jesuit mission. In the words of that moderator, “We’ve got to find out what’s wrong, where Sodality has missed the boat” (57).

The confused Sodality moderator reflected one of several challenges to Jesuit identity, all of which contributed to this crisis of culture. These issues surrounding identity gradually became greater and more significant. A 1939 *Quarterly* report recorded one Jesuit who claimed that a test “of a good Jesuit college or high school in the eyes of many parents is the number of Jesuit teachers on the faculty,” suggesting that institutional Jesuit identity was absolutely dependent upon the number of actual Jesuits present at the school.⁴⁷ Key to that Jesuit identity was the understanding of what it meant to be a Jesuit teacher. Hugh McCarron observed how “in Jesuit education greater emphasis is perhaps placed upon the teacher in the educational scheme than upon the authors.”⁴⁸ This meant that the presence of the Jesuit himself and the style of his presence held a greater formational impact upon the students than the work he was teaching them. The Jesuit, in other words, was the center of the Jesuit school and classroom. Allan Farrell described how “Jesuit schools make much of human contact between teacher and student. The student knows that the Jesuit

47. “Discussion of Papers by Fathers O’Leary and Bowdern,” JEQ 2, no. 1 (1939): 35.

48. McCarron, “Ratio,” 81 (see chap. 2, n. 14).

teacher is interested in and concerned about his peculiar problems and his progress.”⁴⁹

Farrell suggested Jesuit teachers possess three qualities: “the apostle, by the very face of his religious vocation; the quality of the scholar ... and the quality of the gentleman, a man, namely, not only free from any affectation or rudeness, but distinguished by courtesy, tact, and kindness.”⁵⁰

The vocation of teacher was obviously idealized, with the Society presenting high expectations of its instructors, which were often all encompassing. For example, Robert J. Henle, then philosopher and dean at Saint Louis University, described a Jesuit teacher as “a man of selfless devotion and charity. All his thoughts must be taken up with the interests of his boys. He must sacrifice himself by patience, kindness, hard work, self-criticism.”⁵¹ The emphasis was placed overwhelmingly upon virtue. However, in the development of the American high school the teacher increasingly emphasized becoming more a professional than a virtuous example; the individual charisma of the teacher wasn’t nearly as important as the curriculum content, assessment, and accreditation of teachers and schools.

In response to this external emphasis, Jesuits became increasingly aware of the need for greater professionalization in their particular teaching vocation. Increased investment in the resources for training needed to be available so that “men who are to devote their lives to classroom work must be afforded the opportunity to prepare themselves for this task. They must be encouraged.”⁵² As they continued to compare their works to others,

49. Allan P. Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 408–9 (see chap. 2, n. 21).

50. *Ibid.*, 424.

51. Henle, “Teacher,” 104 (see chap. 2, n. 65).

52. William J. Bauer, S.J., “Correspondence,” *JEQ* 6, no. 2 (1943): 124.

some Jesuits were frustrated with the lack of expertise displayed in the managing of their schools. Increasingly, it was important not only for Jesuits themselves but also for the schools to demonstrate greater administrative competency, for “Jesuits who have had much experience in the business world before entering the Society, and laymen and laywomen who enter our employ as professors, deans, and office personnel from other institutions are amazed and discouraged at the unbusinesslike way in which many of our institutions are managed.”⁵³ These efforts needed to be monitored to guard against the looming temptation for Jesuits to become overly careerist and businesslike in their apostolate. Edmund FitzGerald, Boston College classicist, lamented how “sheer intellectualism and scientific method can laicize the Jesuit educator. Either he will master them or they will master him. And he, in turn, will laicize the students under him.”⁵⁴

While this temptation seemed to be more of an issue for Jesuits in higher education it impacted the high schools gradually. Systematically, they appeared to be of less importance than the colleges both in official documents and in assigned manpower. In 1947 Father Janssens wrote to the Society regarding the state of the order’s ministries. In his letter he declared the life of scientific scholarly research and higher education as of the utmost importance to the Jesuits’ mission, which allowed some Jesuits to interpret this as placing college and university efforts as “more important than every other type of work.”⁵⁵ The *Quarterly* began tracking the number of Jesuits pursuing higher degrees, along with their chosen fields and institutions of study. More of its publication space was devoted exclusively to presenting the scholarly work of Jesuits in higher education, with a reminder

53. John J. Higgins, S.J., “Ignatian Administration,” *JEQ* 8, no. 1 (1945): 40.

54. W. Edmund FitzGerald, “World Crisis,” 13 (see chap. 2, n. 4).

55. Paul C. Reinert, S.J., “The Intellectual Apostolate,” *JEQ* 13, no. 2 (1950): 70.

that if a Jesuit were to be apostolically effective “he must be a creative scholar. In consequence, he personally and individually must struggle with truth itself.”⁵⁶ It was an ongoing tension, as early readers of the *Quarterly* had already observed the publication’s neglect of secondary schools, noting “that too many of the articles were either theoretical disquisitions on ends and principles, or addressed to college and university rather than high-school interests.”⁵⁷ Among the high schools there was a growing concern that especially bright and gifted Jesuits were destined exclusively for work in higher education and that a Jesuit’s intellectual gifts automatically were “sufficient to exclude him for life from work in our [high] schools.”⁵⁸ The high schools fought this assumption with little success, pleading their case, for if the secondary schools were to experience greater success, “then the Society must allow the work of the schools a certain priority in its allocation of the most talented Jesuits.”⁵⁹ Younger Jesuits seemed increasingly disinterested in the high school apostolate, so the burden was upon the schools to attract scholastic seminarians.

James Farrell, assistant principal at Loyola Academy, addressed the issue cautiously, hoping to avoid offending those involved in the advancing higher education apostolate. “Some further efforts should be made to inspire the scholastics with sense of the dignity and value of teaching in high school, both during regency and as an avocation for the rest of their lives if obedience so demands. This is not said to decry special studies.”⁶⁰ Lorenzo Reed saw how challenging it would be to make the high schools more attractive for the scholastics. “For the first time in the history of this Assistancy, at least, we have to justify to

56. Weigel, “Teacher,” 16 (see chap. 2, n. 16).

57. Allan P. Farrell, “Readers’ Survey,” 223.

58. “Secondary Schools Rome,” 68 (see chap. 2, n. 114).

59. *Ibid.*

60. James E. Farrell, “Integrating,” 95–96 (see chap. 2, n. 81).

them the worth of the educational apostolate. They see other apostolates that seem to them more fruitful ... They want to sell their religious lives for the highest price, spiritually and intellectually.”⁶¹ Sensing the complexity of expansion and greater lay involvement, along with the growing divide between the high schools and colleges, Rooney reminded the others of their common life in the Society. “After all, we have all had the same training; we are all members of the Society; we are all interested in the work of the Society, we all have ideas to contribute.”⁶² This understanding was affirmed later by Mike Sheridan, a doctoral student of education at the University of Chicago, who at the 1963 JEA annual meeting reminded those gathered together that “Jesuit educational theory should apply to all levels, and since the problems of our times are felt equally by the high schools, there is a common denominator.”⁶³

Meanwhile, the question of Jesuit identity continued to contribute to the crisis of culture within the world of Jesuit education. In 1950 Edward Rooney reflected upon ownership of the schools, a defining aspect of identity. “Our schools belong to the Society; they belong to us, the members of the Society. We are the ones who make up the Society that runs these schools.”⁶⁴ That laity were involved in Jesuit education was not to be seen as a threat to the Jesuits themselves or their institutions. William Dunne, the president of the University of San Francisco, tried to reassure the others. “We cannot, it is true, afford to give up our institutions to laymen. But we need have no fear of losing our control. The

61. Reed, “Santa Clara,” 108.

62. Rooney, “Report of the Executive Director—1950,” *JEQ* 13, no. 1 (1950): 7.

63. Michael P. Sheridan, S.J., “The 1963 St. Louis JEA Meeting High School Sessions,” *JEQ* 26, no. 1 (1963): 54.

64. Rooney “Executive Director,” 7.

House Consultors [the Jesuits consulted by the rector regarding important matters] are here to stay forever.”⁶⁵

In the mid-1950s Jesuits defined a Jesuit school as “one wherein a member of the Society of Jesus is responsible for the education of a definite group of students.”⁶⁶ This implied that the leadership of a school expressed its identity; if a school’s principal or president was a Jesuit, then the school was Jesuit. A few years later, in the JEA Manual for high school administrators, the question of identity surfaced again, this time suggesting that a philosophical framework was the sufficient source of Jesuit identity for an institution. “If our schools are to be truly Jesuit, they must be informed by the Jesuit philosophy of education. And that requires first of all that the faculty be informed by these principles. Faculty meetings should be devoted occasionally to a formal discussion of the West Baden statement,” the fruit of the 1940 institute where Jesuits articulated the philosophy of the American Jesuit high school.⁶⁷

In the early 1960s when he reflected upon the relationship between expansion and identity, Robert Harvanek noted that it was “still possible to give a “Jesuit” education in the high schools, in the sense that Jesuits are present in sufficient numbers to be able to produce the combination of the religious and spiritual with the humane and scientific which is the peculiar aim of Jesuit education.”⁶⁸ In the mid-1960s Michael Walsh, the president of Boston College, questioned the entire relationship between Jesuit manpower and Jesuit institutional identity. “I think we American Jesuits should be slow to accept

65. William J. Dunne, S.J., “Social Responsibility to Lay Faculty,” *JEQ* 14, no. 3 (1952): 160.

66. Mehok, “Jesuit Educational Institutions of the World: 1956–1957,” *JEQ* 20, no. 1 (1957): 47.

67. JEA, *Manual*, 2 (see chap. 2, n. 39).

68. Harvanek, “Dilemma,” 75 (see chap. 2, n. 33).

unexamined the maxim that an institution is automatically more Jesuit, is automatically doing superior or more influential Jesuit educational work, if all of its faculty are Jesuits ... I will not concede that Marquette, St. Louis or Georgetown, with their relatively small percentage of Jesuit faculty members have been engaged in a less genuinely Jesuit enterprise than have European schools with all-Jesuit faculties.”⁶⁹ A year later, Cornelius Carr proposed the promotion of a more in vogue identity, emphasizing a distinction between identity that is Jesuit and identity that is Ignatian. Both shared a commonality, in his eyes. Simply, “to be Ignatian, to be Jesuit, is in part to be contemporary.”⁷⁰

Crisis of Contribution and Commitment

At present, a hallmark of Jesuit education is the systematic formation of students to desire the seeking of a more just society. The roots of this concern and quest for social justice are often seen stemming from the Jesuits’ General Congregation 32 held from 1974-1975, where the Society articulated its mission as “the service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement.” In reality, the relationship between Jesuit institutions and the quest for social justice predates this congregational declaration. As scholar Patrick Carey notes, it was in the 1920s and 1930s that various forms of social Catholicism developed throughout the church, reflecting a “rising lay consciousness ... which tried to restore a sense of Christian personalism by advocating demonstrating in practice the Christian’s personal duty to care for the poor and needy.”⁷¹ It was in 1937 at the Jesuits’ General Congregation 28 that the Society declared “the principles of charity

69. Michael P. Walsh, S.J., “The Real Meaning of Jesuit Manpower Availability,” *JEQ* 26, no. 4 (1964): 200.

70. Carr, “Contemporaneity,” 213 (see chap. 2, n. 154).

71. Patrick W. Carey, *Catholics in America: A History* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 83.

and social justice should be zealously inculcated in students in our schools of higher education as well as in those of secondary grade.”⁷² In the American context, as early as 1942 Jesuits were concerned about the development of a social sense in their students. Jesuits observed that their high school and college alumni were not zealous enough in their contribution to the Christian mission of building the kingdom on earth. That concern likely was in response to a critical letter from Father General Ledochowski in January 1939. The general demanded greater social apostolate activity from the Americans, whom he felt were complacent and negligent in making it a priority as dictated by the 28th general congregation. “I indeed have always placed great value on your educational ministries,” Ledochowski wrote, “however, there is danger in your Assistancy lest the education of youth should become to be almost your only ministry.”⁷³ Joseph Fitzpatrick noted that the general “was obviously not taking things for granted, and he let us know very bluntly that he did not think we were doing a good job.”⁷⁴

Some placed blame upon the formation their schools provided, and appealed to the greater movements of the Church as motivation for action. John Delaney, the director of the Institute of Social Order, described in the *JEQ* a fundamental principle of Jesuit identity which had its roots in Ignatius’ vision of the Society: Jesuits are to be always “thinking with the Church.” Delaney reminded the Jesuits how in that early 1940s context “it is undeniable that thinking with the Church means *social thinking*.”⁷⁵ Anticipation of the war’s end provided Jesuit teachers with an opportune moment to prepare the peace; indeed,

72. F. Christian Keller, S.J., “Sociology in the High School,” *JEQ* 12, no. 4 (1950): 241.

73. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J. “New Directions in the Social Apostolate,” *Woodstock Letters* 88, no. 2 (1959): 120.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Delaney, “Social Sense,” 44 (see chap. 2, n. 144).

the groundwork for peace was an education plan that promoted social awareness. Delaney recognized that social thinking would prove difficult for Jesuits because they were “notoriously individualists. There is something in our training and our work and our ideals that makes us so. Our spiritual training is very much a personalized one” (45). He suggested that this individualism was transmitted to students and inadvertently resulted in a desire for worldly success, which hampered alumni from reaching the Jesuits’ desired end for them: “the living of *complete Catholicism*” (50). He recommended Jesuit educators “emphasize the *Catholic ideal of success* side by side with the *true measure of man’s dignity*. Unconsciously we may at times be guilty of teaching an ideal of success that differs very little from the pagan, material ideal of success taught in the nonreligious schools, a success measured by money and influence and social position and prominence” (51). A starting point for Jesuits was to “inculcate day by day in our own living, in our preaching and our teaching and our retreat work, in all our work, Catholic social doctrine” (51).

Recognizing the need for great social awareness wasn’t merely an American Jesuit summons; the Jesuits’ father general, John Baptiste Janssens, was concerned for the global Jesuit mission and its relationship to social justice. On October 10, 1949 he issued his own teaching, the *Instructio de Apostolatu Sociali*, which presented his case for what Jesuit economist Mortimer Gavin named a “radical reformation of the social order.”⁷⁶ Janssens saw the Jesuit social apostolate “procuring for as many men as possible, or rather, in so far as conditions permit *for all men*, an abundance of both temporal and spiritual goods even

76. Mortimer H. Gavin, S.J., “Application to Higher Institutions of De Apostolatu Sociali,” *JEQ* 14, no. 1 (1951): 13.

in the natural order.”⁷⁷ It contained the Catholic action plan for the destruction of “other symptomatic and consequential evils at the root ... It is a radical crusade.”⁷⁸

Gavin detected an error at work within the order’s global work of education and he saw in the general’s instruction a remedy. He surveyed Jesuits who reported their concerns about social awareness in the schools. “It seems to me that the great deficiency, in Jesuit education in particular, is that we have concentrated almost exclusively on the development of the *individual* nature of man with little or no consideration being given to the development of man’s *social* nature ... Educated exclusively for individual action, the products of Jesuit education are not equipped to participate in organized group action, and thus we have tremendously serious problems ... I would say we have done our job of creating a sense of social responsibility very poorly” (23).

Contained within Janssens’ instruction were specific suggestions for its application to the schools. He was concerned about the presence in Jesuit schools of social castes, “that notion which considers a man more worthy of esteem and respect and the bestowal of spiritual care merely because of his family’s prestige or his wealth” (28). In a Jesuit school there should be nothing that would promote “any spirit of special privileged social class” and Jesuits had a responsibility to correct “the prejudices which they [students] have perhaps learned at home to take deeper root while they remain with us.” That meant that in their schools “there should be no distinction in our colleges between rich and poor.” A “spirit of reverence and gratitude towards the workingman” would help them “not set their hearts on wealth” and promote a “hunger and thirst after justice, the justice which sees to

77. Janssens, “The Social Apostolate,” *Woodstock Letters* 79, no. 2 (1950): 127.

78. Gavin, “De Apostolatu Sociali,” 15.

it that all men receive the due reward of their labors, and that there be a more just distribution of temporal goods, as well as a fuller and more universal sharing of spiritual goods.”⁷⁹ Specific to the high schools, Janssens desired that students be led to active involvement in the social apostolate. He wanted them “visiting the homes of the poor, the workshops and mines of laborers, and their social centers; let them not only hear the words of their teacher exhorting them, but let them see with their own eyes and touch with their own hands the proof of how truthful he speaks to them.”⁸⁰

Jesuit James McGinley, professor of economics at Fordham, saw within Janssens’ instruction a specific challenge and opportunity for the Jesuits to claim the intellectual leadership for Catholic social teaching in America. McGinley saw within the vast network of American Jesuit high schools and colleges a grand opportunity but wondered whether Jesuits in America “have the academic asceticism required to stay with the slow task of acquiring and then providing intellectual leadership in analysis of social problems.”⁸¹ The potential difficulty for fulfilling this vision, however, was the social background of most Jesuits. Janssens observed, “Since most of Ours were raised in comfortable circumstances, or else were isolated from their youth in a minor seminary, there are very few who could learn to know for themselves the actual daily life led by the workingman and the farmer, by the clerk and by the lowest employees in the courts and in business. Yet it is necessary that Ours should see what it means to spend a whole life in humble circumstances, to be a

79. Janssens, “Social Apostolate,” 136.

80. *Ibid.*, 137.

81. James J. McGinley, S.J., “Father Janssens’ Letter De Apostolatu Sociali: Spirit of the Letter De Apostolatu Sociali,” *JEQ* 14, no. 1 (1951): 7.

member of the lowest class of mankind, to be ignored and looked down upon by other men ...”⁸²

Based on the American Jesuit reaction to his teaching, the general was right. There was both hesitation and skepticism among the Jesuits as to the role that social teaching was to play in the formation of their students. Robert Hartnett found Jesuit pedagogy negligent of social study, perhaps because of Jesuit refusal to adapt curriculum he saw as needing the social sciences for future mission effectiveness. “An education consists of learning literature, religion, history, philosophy, the natural sciences, mathematics, *and* the social sciences,”⁸³ he reminded readers of the *Quarterly*. “We must not be ostriches. Today’s seventeen year old takes up the privileges of an adult sooner than before.”⁸⁴ McGinley wondered how social sciences like economics, sociology, and political science would ever succeed if they were not respected in the regular curriculum of Jesuit schools. He sensed a lurking fear of the newer social sciences because Jesuits were not exposed to them in their classical training. “We cannot go back to a line of tradition which is self-refining, specifically Jesuit, and a common experience of all.”⁸⁵ The intellectual world had moved beyond what he perceived as the Jesuits’ outdated academic formation.

The tradition was rooted in Catholic separatism that promoted such refinement. It emerged as the Catholic response to a history of anti-Catholicism in America. Specifically, the creation of a separate system of education facilitated enough progress so that the invocation of continued separatism seemed questionable, an observation made at the 1960

82. Janssens, “Social Apostolate,” 128.

83. Hartnett, “The J.E.A. and the I.S.O.: Relation of Jesuit Academic Institutions to the Institute of Social Order,” *JEQ* 10, no. 1 (1947): 28.

84. Keller, “Sociology,” 242.

85. McGinley, “Janssens’ Letter,” 11.

JEA gathering in Chicago by Joseph Downey. He maintained this tradition hampered Jesuit teachers from great effectiveness by rooting them in “a negative and defensive mentality ... at work in our teaching, possibly as the result of a still-continuing sensitivity to our minority status as Catholics.”⁸⁶ The minority status was invalid in the present, Downey maintained. “If historical factors are reckoned with and if present rates of improvement are taken into account, Catholic breast-beating appears to have been overdone.”⁸⁷

The unresolved tension around this issue of social awareness continued to fester. For example, at a 1962 workshop in Los Angeles Jesuits analyzed what they anticipated as the future formational needs of their students. Some felt there needed to be more direct relating with American society. The current formation for existence within the two worlds of the sacred and the secular seemingly created the undesired outcome of disengaged Jesuit alumni. It was problematic that an alumnus could “stand aloof in a kind of Christian transcendentalism and leave the formation of the world to the non-Christians (non-Catholics). He must participate in the world and work towards its humanization and Christianization, or rather, towards its Christian humanization.”⁸⁸

In their deliberations of current outcomes of their schools they discerned two areas of immediate concern. Students “have to be prepared to live in a *changing* world, and ... they have to be trained to be *engaged* in that world” (20). These observations implied that the present formation wasn’t preparing students to engage the social environment they would encounter. For Robert Harvarnek, the issue came down to a simple question. “Are

86. Downey, “Loyola,” 6 (see chap. 2, n. 146).

87. *Ibid.*, 7.

88. Robert F. Harvarnek, S.J., “Moral, Religious and Spiritual Formation in Jesuit Secondary Education,” *JEQ* 26, no. 1 (1963): 21.

we training our students so that they can live fairly successful Christian private lives in the world, and this only, or are we training them to realize their Christian vocation to enter into the world, and to work towards its humanization and Christianization?" (22). He lamented a continued emphasis on Catholic separatism. "It has been said of the American Catholic community as a whole that it has kept itself apart from the general struggle for the improvement of the human situation in the United States as a whole, has concerned itself with itself alone" (21). The fruit of this was reflected in academic studies which concluded that "students of Catholic schools show an appreciably lesser degree of social concern and active interest in the general public welfare than students of non-Catholic schools, whether Protestant schools or public schools" (21). Jesuits at the workshop decided that the kind of graduate needed to live and act in the world of the future needed a specific quality that was lacking and that "can be expressed, but only inadequately, in the one word: committed" (22). Without that commitment, wrote Louis Twomey, Jesuit schools would continue "to turn out graduates who, although they may be exemplary individuals and family members, will never come to know the true richness of Catholicism as it applies not only to personal and family living, but to the right ordering of political, economic and social life as well."⁸⁹

Crisis of Relevance

The question of relevance was appropriate early in the educational reflections of Jesuits. William Donaghy, the superior of Campion retreat house, reflected on Pope Pius XI's assessment of the world shortly before his death. Pius had described a crisis facing the church in the early 1950s, an awareness that mediocrity was no longer to be permitted.

89. Louis Twomey, S.J. "The Modern World and Jesuit Relevance," *Woodstock Letters* 93 (1964): 303-4.

“That is true of us preeminently and it must be true of our students.”⁹⁰ Mediocrity would not help the Society and its alumni in defeating what Donaghy saw then as a major threat to the Jesuit contribution to education: stagnant, smug intellectualism and Communism. “The suave devil of our day wears a morning-frock, he speaks with the proper accent, he has academic degrees, he writes books, lectures, undermines undergraduates, erects gaseous statues of Marx and Lenin in Hyde Park and Union Square.”⁹¹ Jesuits needed to discern how their network of schools should develop if the perceived threat continued to grow. Partnered with the potential charge of mediocrity came the question of relevancy, especially with regard to the lingering classical identity of Jesuit high schools. In 1952 the secondary commission of the JEA asked of the schools, “How successful is the modern Jesuit high school in preparing students for college and for life?”⁹² The question was the result of a greater movement in American secondary education called Life Adjustment, and the Jesuits had strong feelings about it, perceiving it as a trendy school threat. John Sullivan, the principal of the University of Detroit High School, held that “the value of our traditional academic course is seriously challenged, if not ridiculed, by the proponents of Life Adjustment Education.”⁹³ This 1940s U.S. Office of Education measure stemmed from the work of the Progressive educator and proponent of vocational education, Charles Prosser. Life Adjustment claimed that terminal high school students were not receiving the practical training they needed. Education needed to equip all students with the ability to live democratically in their homes, as workers, and citizens, even among those who would

90. William A. Donaghy, S.J., “Jesuit Alumni in a Secularist World,” *JEQ* 15, no. 1 (1952): 12.

91. *Ibid.*, 15.

92. John F. Sullivan, S.J., “Jesuit High School: Alumni Evaluation,” *JEQ* 15, no. 2 (1952): 88.

93. *Ibid.*, 89.

not seek higher education. Life Adjustment held at its center that “the principal purpose of elementary and secondary education is for life within the American democracy rather than intellectual and academic excellence.”⁹⁴ The JEA believed it to be “a radical movement, in the sense that it proposed a revolution in secondary education ... The principles of Life Adjustment Education were very plausible, full of half truths, so that people were lulled into the habit of assent. It was hard to put one’s finger on clear-cut errors or false principles.”⁹⁵ Recent scholarship in the history of education debates the significance of the Life Adjustment Education movement. Historians since 1980 have presented it as a well-defined, cohesive movement, giving it a prominent place in the history of education narrative. However, William G. Wraga argues against this placement, noting how earlier historians disregarded the movement almost entirely. For public schooling, Wraga maintained it was actually an “ill-defined, poorly supported, badly named, and short-lived program of the U.S. Office of Education that, beyond state-level rhetoric, had relatively limited demonstrable impact on public schools. Its contemporary critics, however, found in life adjustment education an easy target and effectively exaggerated its significance as a reform movement.”⁹⁶ He acknowledged that the movement did capture the attention of Catholic school administrators where it was more widely considered.⁹⁷

Perhaps most frustrating to Jesuits was the charge of irrelevance made by their fellow Catholic educators. Sister Mary Janet, S.C., of the Commission on American Citizenship at the Catholic University of America, as well as a member of the U.S. Office

94. Harvanek, “Changing Structure,” 76.

95. JEA, *Teaching in Jesuit High Schools* (New York: Fordham University Purchasing Department, 1957), 162.

96. William G. Wraga, “From Slogan to Anathema: Historical Representations of Life Adjustment Education,” *American Journal of Education* 116 (February 2010): 199.

97. *Ibid.*, 198.

of Education's two national Commissions on Life Adjustment Education for Youth, offered a scathing critique of the classical education model, declaring it a failure in the American context. "It is not suited to all students, and it possesses no integrating qualities. It is unrelated to realistic needs of wage-earners, homemakers, and citizens. It has consisted of unrelated subjects and has failed to achieve unity in educational outcomes in students either as individuals or as members of groups. It is not essentially Christian."⁹⁸ Sister Janet's position advocated for experimentation in the Catholic secondary school system, a proposal loathed and dismissed by classically-minded Jesuits. Janet maintained that "there is a challenge confronting us in 1949 and in the years immediately following. It points out the need of making use of all we know today through the advances in psychology and through powerful social changes that have taken place in the world."⁹⁹

Jesuits recognized that they needed to respond to the charges of irrelevance. Sullivan acknowledged, "We still have an obligation to provide an adequate, if not superior, life preparation for the fifteen or twenty percent of our graduates who will not continue their studies after high school."¹⁰⁰ Their response was to survey a sample of alumni, the results of which were inconclusive. While alumni who were terminal students desired change, from other respondents, "the cry was just as loud and insistent that we should 'not change the system'" (101). The Jesuits concluded their system was clearly relevant to the population that mattered most: the alumni. "There is no necessity to abandon, or radically revise, our traditional course of studies. At most, they suggest that we should put greater

98. Mary Janet, S.C., *Catholic Secondary Education: A National Survey* (Washington, DC: Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1949), 135-36.

99. *Ibid.*, 137.

100. Sullivan, "Alumni Evaluation," 90.

emphasis on the mastery of those phases which they will be called upon to use most frequently in their future lives” (105). The critique, however, contributed to the ongoing debate regarding the tradition of Jesuit education. Gustave Weigel of Woodstock College worried that Jesuits lost the capacity to exercise their individuality when they felt pressure to maintain the order’s past educational framework. He saw this as a great danger for a Jesuit whom he imagined could “easily come to believe that the support of this tradition is his main task. It is the tradition, not he, which achieves our educational goal. All the Jesuit need therefore do is defend and carry on the tradition.”¹⁰¹ Weigel held the fruit of this way of proceeding was staleness among Jesuit teachers, “faced with a zombie tradition which goes through all the motions of being vital, but really isn’t. A vital tradition is always changing substantially” (11). Edward Sponga echoed this concern in the *Woodstock Letters*. Regarding his personal identity, a Jesuit at best, Sponga believed, holds on to it shakily. “He fears that religious life can readily become a form, a blind, put-your-head-down-and-push sort of impersonal, automatic process.”¹⁰² Louis Twomey considered specifically the question of relevancy in his reflection in the *Woodstock Letters*. He believed that the Jesuits would not overcome the charge of irrelevancy “unless we are willing to face some distasteful facts.”¹⁰³ That meant admitting that “Jesuits tend to identify our thinking and loyalty with the interests of the ‘bourgeois’ middle class” (306). The only way around this, Twomey believed, was the “strong antidote of integral Catholicism, which can and does pronounce authoritatively in economic and social matters” (306).

101. Weigel, “Teacher,” 10.

102. Edward J. Sponga, S.J. “An Ignatian Synthesis: A Phenomenological Evaluation of the Contemporary Jesuit in Search of His Own Identity,” *Woodstock Letters* 92, no. 4 (1963): 336.

103. Twomey, “Modern World,” 300.

An Emerging Response to the Crises

While the colleges and universities expanded and professionalized their intellectual depth, the high schools simply could not advance in a similar way, so their way of communicating vitality was to increase in number. When Monsignor William McDonald, the rector of Catholic University of America, spoke at the 1962 JEA meeting in Detroit he called for the Society to exercise greater caution in their expansion. He warned the Jesuits of what he detected to be “the seduction of bigness, that is, to extend indiscriminately without real regard for the central purpose of the institution and to multiply educational institutions too rapidly.”¹⁰⁴

Despite McDonald’s warning, Robert Harvanek anticipated the 1960s as “a time of expanding education, for Jesuit schools as well as for all other types and styles of schools on the American scene. New Jesuit high schools will be opened. Others will move to new locations. Others will find the situation around them changed and will have to consider adjusting to the new circumstances.”¹⁰⁵ He saw suburban growth for Catholics as problematic for Jesuit city schools. “The shift of the population to residential areas on the outskirts of the city, in suburbs, away from the center of the city, has tended to create distinct communities and also make transportation to a city-wide school difficult. Jesuit schools locating in such communities are taking on, as a result, something of the character of neighborhood schools.”¹⁰⁶ On the East Coast, for example, Boston College High School moved to a new campus in 1950, what the *Woodstock Letters* reported as the school’s “trek

104. Martin F. Hasting, S.J., “The Annual Meeting at Detroit,” *JEQ* 25, no. 1 (1962): 12.

105. Harvanek, “Changing Structure,” 69.

106. *Ibid.*, 71.

to the new Promised Land ... The change of location had long been considered. Time had left its mark on the old site. What was once a residential district had become a slum area ... The area is not listed as 'Skid Row,' and it was inevitable that many parents should complain they were averse to sending their boys through this district, however much they desired that they attend famous B.C. High."¹⁰⁷

In the Midwest, the growth of the Catholic middle class and the movement out of the city and into the suburb proved Harvanek's prediction. For example, the Jesuits established two new high schools, one in Toledo and one in suburban Cleveland. Province officials used the same master plan for building the schools, similar to William Leach's observation of corporate growth. "The earlier firm was small-scale and low volume and strove for success through product differentiation or by manufacturing a single unique product ... The newer corporations cared little for differentiation, everything about high volume, full capacity production, and domination of mass markets."¹⁰⁸ Early schools were unique but these later schools opened the door to mass production. Clement Ryan observed that in the movement of expansion, a school's uniqueness became less valued. "We have an obligation to preserve the fundamental identity and the characteristic individuality of each Jesuit school. I know that we can be hide-bound by tradition, but I know also that we can be swept away by novel and untried ideas as well."¹⁰⁹ He believed that "excellence and perfection should come to each school in its own sphere and orbit. To expand outside of the present framework of each school now would not be a solid and a

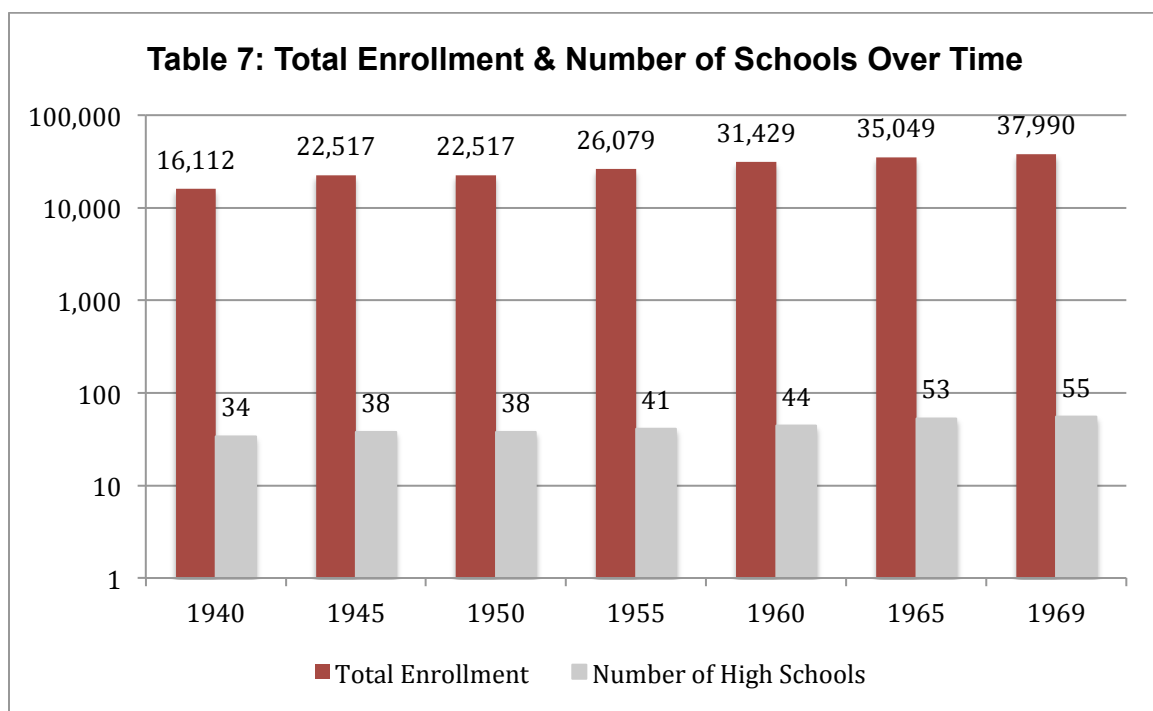
107. "Historical Note: The New Boston College High School," *Woodstock Letters* 80, no. 3 (1951): 227.

108. Leach, *Land of Desire*, 17 (see chap. 2, n. 2).

109. J. Clement Ryan, S.J., "Student Personnel Contacts and Increased Enrollment," *JEQ* 21, no. 2 (1958): 89.

natural growth.”¹¹⁰ The criticism was echoed by Allan Farrell, who observed how “Jesuits in America have in the main been too much occupied with the founding of high schools, colleges, and universities.”¹¹¹

Uncritically, the *JEQ* highlighted the growing overall enrollment of the high schools, while simultaneously noting gradually declining freshmen enrollment. Yet any concern around decreasing numbers was masked by expansion of the number of Jesuit schools. Table 7 demonstrates the increased enrollment with the expansion of schools.¹¹²



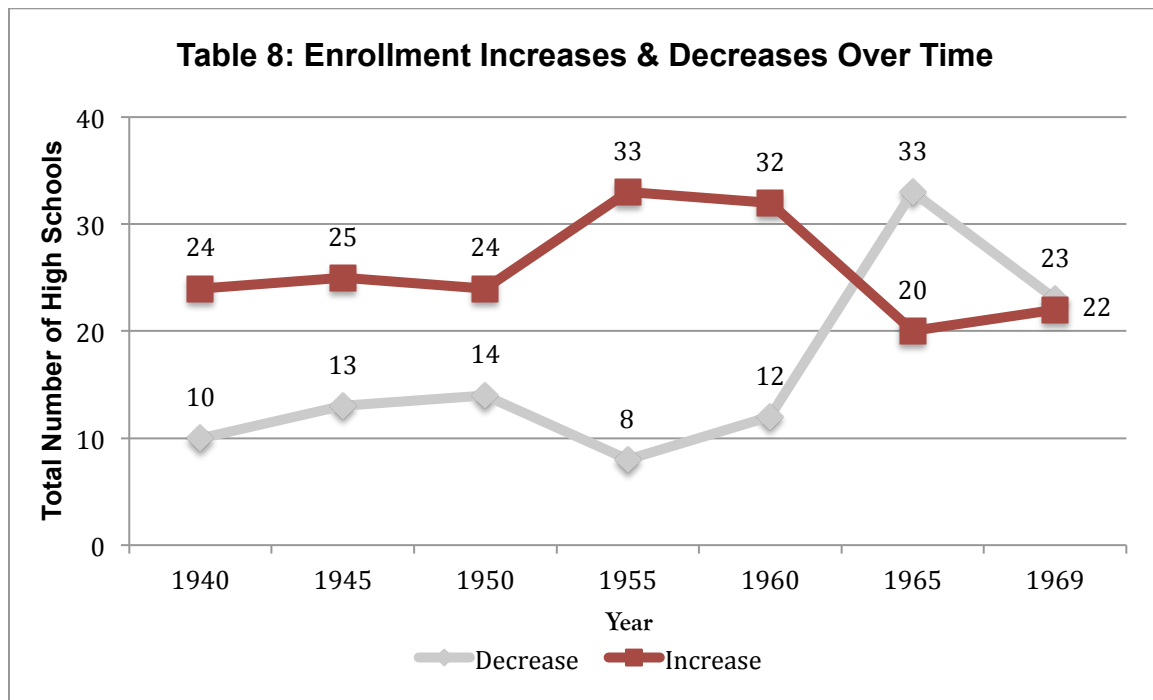
While the continued overall increase gives the appearance of growth, it disguises the fact that particular schools were in trouble with enrollment management. Table 8 demonstrates as a line graph the number of high schools whose enrollment increased or decreased over

110. Ibid.

111. Allan P. Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 424.

112. High School Forms (see chap. 2, n. 99).

five year increments. More schools have increasing enrollments until 1965, where fewer schools have increasing enrollments compared to decreasing enrollments.¹¹³



In 1960 seven of the schools showed a decline in freshman enrollment.¹¹⁴ While in 1963 that number spikes to half of the schools.¹¹⁵ In 1965 for the first time just over half show decreased freshmen enrollments.¹¹⁶ Despite the decline of first year enrollment at a majority of schools, the 1966 edition of the *Quarterly* chose to focus on the fact that the secondary system was undergoing even more expansion. “On the drawing-boards for new Jesuit High Schools to open in the near future, we have word that the Bishop Connolly High School, a new High School to be opened by the New England Province, will open at Fall River ... in September of 1966; the De Smet Jesuit High which will be opened in St.

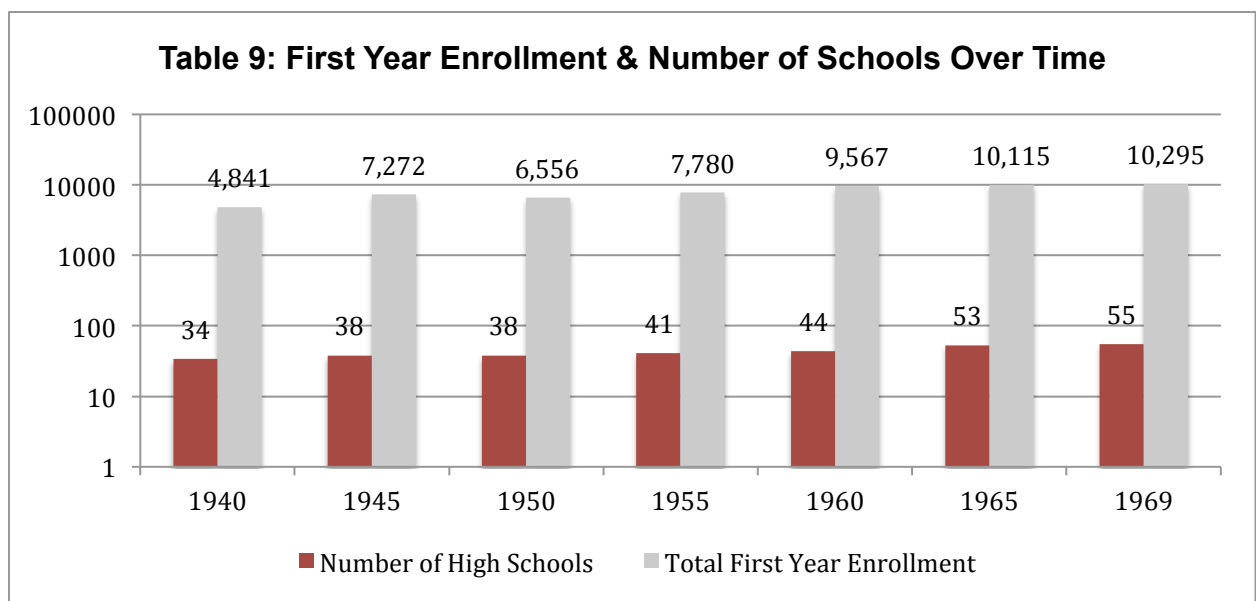
113. Ibid.

114. Eugene F. Mangold, S.J., “Enrollment Statistics: 1960–1961,” *JEQ* 23, no. 3 (1961): 161.

115. Ibid., *JEQ* 25, no. 3 (1963): 163.

116. Ibid., *JEQ* 27, no. 3 (1965): 164.

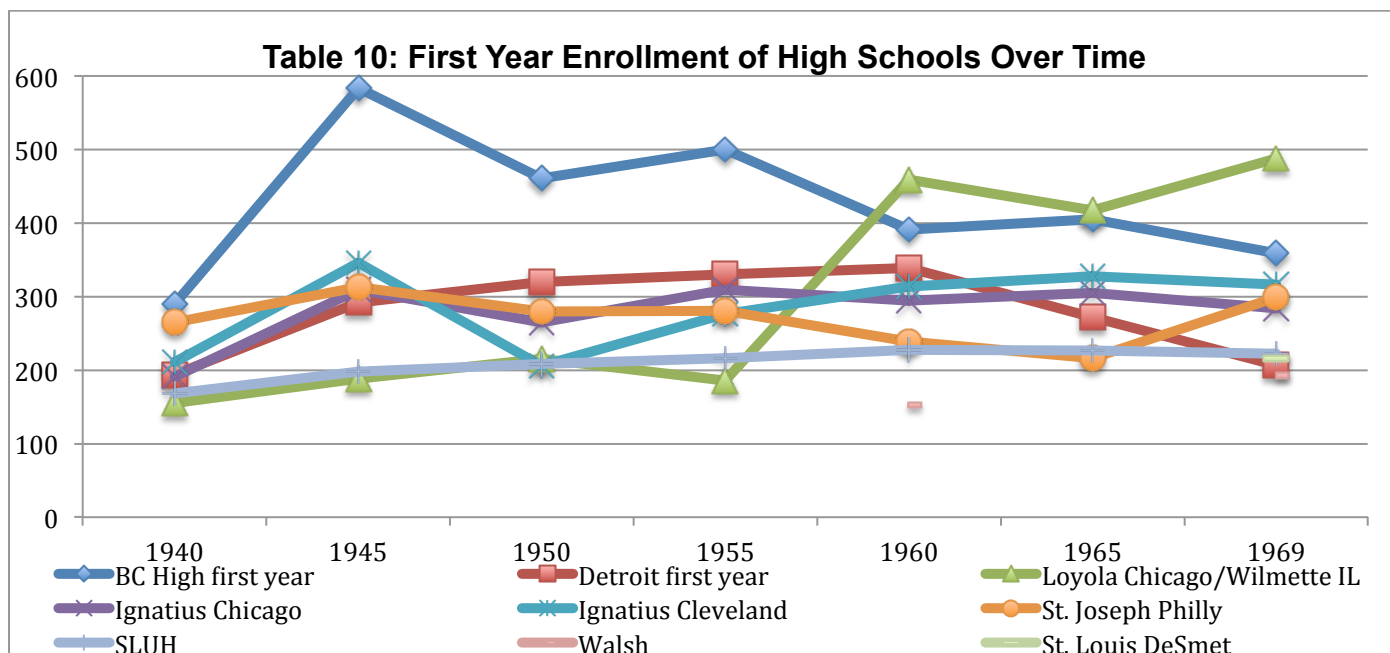
Louis ... will now open in September of 1967.”¹¹⁷ Table 9 shows how despite expansion of number of schools, overall enrollment only showed slight increases.¹¹⁸ Table 10 shows the first year enrollment for a select number of schools, followed by a table that provides the percentage increases and decreases.¹¹⁹ These tables demonstrate especially the movement of Catholics to the suburbs and the desire for new school space. In both Saint Louis and Cleveland, the enrollments in the older schools were declining, while the enrollments in the suburban schools in those cities increased. The same is evident when comparing Ignatius of Chicago and the suburban relocation of Loyola Academy from the city to suburban Wilmette.



117. Ibid., *JEQ* 28, no. 3 (1966): 156.

118. High School Forms.

119. Ibid.



| | 1940 to 1945 | 1945 to 1950 | 1950 to 1955 | 1955 to 1960 | 1960 to 1965 | 1965 to 1969 |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| BC High first year | 101% | -21% | 8% | -22% | 4% | -11% |
| Detroit first year | 51% | 10% | 3% | 3% | -20% | -24% |
| Loyola Chicago/Wilmette IL | 21% | 14% | -13% | 147% | -9% | 17% |
| Ignatius Chicago | 62% | -14% | 17% | -5% | 3% | -7% |
| Ignatius Cleveland | 64% | -40% | 34% | 14% | 4% | -4% |
| St. Joseph Philly | 18% | -11% | 0% | -15% | -10% | 38% |
| SLUH | 18% | 5% | 4% | 6% | 0% | -2% |
| Walsh | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| St. Louis DeSmet | - | - | - | - | - | - |

One rationale used by the Jesuits which justified the continued systematic expansion was offered by Robert Harvanek, who suggested that there was a financial motive at work. “The costs of education have been rising fast and high, in plant construction, equipment, teacher salaries, etc. The need to meet these spiraling costs by increased enrollments, raises in tuition, and by public relations and promotion efforts, in some areas has affected both the selection and the number of students admitted, and also

the nature of the program that is offered to them.”¹²⁰ Another factor was the issue of growing demand for Jesuit high school education, but in locations other than the urban centers where many Jesuit schools existed.

Besides the expansion critique, Jesuits pondered with some dissatisfaction the outcome of their efforts with the schools. At the 1960 JEA annual meeting one Jesuit “mentioned the restive consciences which Jesuit high school people chronically feel in not producing a higher percentage of outstanding students—despite promising, distinctly above-average student bodies, able faculties, enlightened curricula.”¹²¹ Something was not working. Harvanek noticed that this was affecting the public perception of Jesuit schools. “Earlier Jesuit high schools were able financially and academically to hold a high place in American and Catholic society. Now city, especially suburban, systems of education have been able to develop excellent schools which not only challenge but even surpass the quality of Jesuit schools. The effort to meet this competition has effects on plant, equipment, faculty, and curricula.”¹²²

Gerald Sheahan warned Jesuits that if they did not act soon, they would squander their years of educational effort in America. “For centuries we Jesuits have enjoyed an enviable reputation as being one of the best groups of teachers in the educational field. Until recent years we have also been considered as the best educated group within the Church. But this reputation is not necessarily so universal today, at least not in our secondary schools ... The curricula in our seminaries have not kept pace with latest educational developments, and our young Jesuits are finding it more and more difficult to

120. Harvanek, “Changing Structure,” 78.

121. Downey, “Loyola,” 6.

122. Harvanek, “Changing Structure,” 77.

keep up with priests and brothers and sisters in other teaching orders that are more modern in their approach and more single minded in their purpose.”¹²³ Lorenzo Reed, the director of the JEA high school administrators institute, lamented, “Our schools no longer have a virtual monopoly on excellence among Catholic schools.”¹²⁴ According to John Seidler, Jesuit high schools, “living on past reputation, pretend to excel academically; but, if they are seen acting on the stage with certain other schools, they look like supporting actors. For true excellence is lacking.”¹²⁵

John Seidler, an Alma College theologian, believed “Many who have taught in a Jesuit high school, as I have, or in some other Catholic secondary school for boys, realize how necessary a revision is. We are failing in our primary obligation of imparting a strong intellectual training” (221). Seidler saw the result as being one where “boys put on a kind of water repellent coat that keeps the force of the education from coming too close to them. The values simply slide off. They may just as well attend a non-Catholic school” (221). It wasn’t sufficient to continue producing “fine Catholic gentlemen,” Seidler argued, because they were no longer valued in the culture. While they might be gracious in their dispositions, “they frequently do not measure up to their friends who attend the best public schools. The friends travel the freeway while the Catholic boys take the old scenic route” (222). Seidler believed Jesuit schools faced a more significant challenge from greater American culture, which he believed to be “a materialistic, independence-loving octopus which holds the student while offering him the values of money, status, and business success” (224). That culture was seeping its way into the Jesuit schools; as Catholics

123. Sheahan, “Educational Developments,” 20.

124. Reed, “Santa Clara,” 108.

125. John Seidler, S.J., “Catholic High Schools and the Water Repellent,” *JEQ* 26, no. 4 (1964): 221.

acclimated to life in America, their institutions were expected to reflect that. From its “News from the Field” briefings, the *JEQ* reports indicate schools that were becoming more materialistic, presumably to meet the demands of an increasingly consumeristic American society. For example, the chef at Georgetown Prep won a prize for excellence in the Fifth Culinary Art Show in Washington.¹²⁶ In 1957 at the Jesuit boarding school in Wisconsin students “were told to remain in their places in the stands during half-time and after the end of the basketball game. This sounded like punishment, but surprise—the famous Harlem Globetrotters appeared and put on an exhibition ...”¹²⁷ That same year the Dads’ Club of Jesuit High, Tampa, sponsored a “Hair Style and Fashion Show for the school. Two local hair stylists offered their services to help make it a success.”¹²⁸ In 1960 at Georgetown Prep: “A new \$600,000 Field House begun last June is rapidly becoming a reality. The new Field House will include three basketball courts, two lounges, a large recreation room, and a multi-purpose room.”¹²⁹ In Saint Louis language offerings were expanded through “a new program in its new Modern Language Department ... Spanish, Russian, and German will be taught as college courses with the students using college textbooks. The course will not be under the auspices of any University but will be taught as a regular high school course.”¹³⁰ In 1963 “Loyola High School of Los Angeles has plans for a new auditorium. They have already received a gift of \$100,000 from David Marks, a Jewish philanthropist ... total cost is estimated at \$450,000 ... Bellarmine Prep of San Jose

126. “News,” *JEQ* 16, no. 2 (1953): 140.

127. *Ibid.*, *JEQ* 20, no. 1 (1957): 63.

128. *Ibid.*

129. *Ibid.*, *JEQ* 23, no. 1 (1960): 60.

130. *Ibid.*, 61.

is going ahead with plans for its student center. The plans include a dining room for 400 students, recreation rooms, and meeting rooms.”¹³¹

William McCusker of Regis High in New York reflected upon how Jesuits had been proceeding in their schools. He observed that American Jesuits had been deliberate and slow in executing any changes, often as late followers of movements introduced through other schools and systems. For example, it had been nearly 15 years since Sister Mary Janet’s study and only now were Jesuits investigating the possibility for adjustment in order to promote things like the social apostolate. McCusker concluded three options for moving forward. “The possibility presents itself of continuing this trend in curricular growth, of letting others do the experimentation and following slowly in their wakes, learning from their errors and successes; or stepping out boldly on our own by revising our curriculum to fit the needs of a modern day.”¹³²

It was at the 1964 JEA institute for high school administrators that Jesuits described collectively their assessment of what the current period provided. Recognizing that there was no room for mediocrity or complacency, they believed a “spirit of *inquiry*” and a “spirit of *adaptability*” would lead them.¹³³ There was also, however, a “spirit of *caution*” and the administrators recognized they had “a sense of responsibility for our traditions and for the excellence which exists. We have to prepare for change carefully.”¹³⁴

Inquiry and adaptability suggested experimentation at the schools, and early attempts at it proved highly controversial. At the 1964 annual meeting at Georgetown,

131. Ibid., *JEQ* 26, no. 1 (1963): 62.

132. McCusker, “Comments,” 27 (see chap. 2, n. 125).

133. Reed, “Santa Clara,” 133.

134. Ibid.

Roman Bernert, reported on the newest development on the American educational front: the non-graded high school. Bernert was absolutely convinced that this was the way of the future for Jesuit education, equating it with the earlier of Jesuit schooling. He declared it to be “the exact counterpart of the Jesuit Renaissance school of 1550. It is Messina and the Roman College all over again ... the absolute latest on the American scene.”¹³⁵ Edward Zogby reported an experiment he attempted in his English class. It was unplanned, a result from his observing one day “the regular type of teacher-centered teaching was just stifling the energies of the class. I simply announced that this was the last class without knowing what the next day would bring.”¹³⁶ The next day he created learning groups that “teacherless groups in which everyone was a teacher, and leaderless groups (not leadershipless) in which everyone was a leader.”¹³⁷

Herbert Musurillo, professor of classics at Fordham University, was not impressed with this newfound fervor for inquiry and adaptability and instead, he emphasized the need to reverence the spirit of caution. He pondered, “And what of the status of our Jesuit high schools in the modern world? They are, surely, among the best secondary schools in the country ... Indeed, I think that we should lay it down as a principle that no change should be attempted on the academic level without serious consultation with teachers of proven competence.”¹³⁸

135. R. A. Bernert, S.J., “The Impact of Secondary School Curriculum Developments on Articulation with College Programs,” *JEQ* 27, no. 1 (1964): 21.

136. Edward G. Zogby, S.J., “Discussion Type Teaching: An Aspect of Contemporaneity in the High School,” *JEQ* 27, no. 4 (1965): 224.

137. *Ibid.*, 229.

138. Herbert Musurillo, S.J., “The Meaning of a Liberal Education in Our Times,” *JEQ* 28, no. 1 (1965): 54.

Musurillo's caution peaked in the deliverance of an ultimatum: "Above all, we must beware of experimenting with our students" for Jesuits risked doing "lasting damage to these students."¹³⁹ Joseph Fitzpatrick, chairman of Fordham University's new department of sociology and anthropology, dismissed the warning, for he detected opportunity for new academic disciplines to exercise influence. He saw students of the 1960s as fortunate participants in "an extraordinary social revolution. In days when such amazing developments are taking place as de-segregation, the guaranteed annual wage, the development of underdeveloped areas, the organized movement of millions of people to a better homeland, the end of colonialism ... [Jesuit education] must give to students a competence in and familiarity with these rapid social changes. This is where the social sciences must enter the curriculum in general education."¹⁴⁰ Withholding access to new kinds of education, warned R. A. Bernert, would perpetuate the trend where "many, too many, Jesuit high school graduates in the upper 25 per cent of their classes are being driven into institutions which maintain that 'the time of being a student is the time for experimentation, a time to test the strength of society by rebelling against it, a time to make mistakes and to learn that failure need only be a momentary condition.'"¹⁴¹ The Jesuit embrace and promotion of both new social science knowledge and contemporaneity would keep the best Jesuit high school students from leaving the system.

For Seidler, it was a matter of overcoming the psychological problem of a "frozen educational structure" by realizing that "education is a process in which the psychological

139. *Ibid.*, 55.

140. Fitzpatrick, "Social Science and the Jesuits Liberal Arts College," *JEQ* 25, no. 2 (1962): 108.

141. Bernert, "Articulation," 27.

identification and assimilation of values thrive on academic excellence.¹⁴² The most critical need, suggested at the 1963 JEA annual meeting, would be to gather “more factual information about the value patterns of our students. Recent work in this area has been confined to the college level; perhaps a similar study of high school attitudes could be undertaken within the framework of Jesuit high schools.”¹⁴³ That’s exactly what they did, by tapping into the training of Jesuits engaged in the new social sciences of psychology and sociology. Joseph Fitzpatrick advised that the Society “should pray God will send us the scholars we need; and we should strive to develop in ourselves that social-mindedness that will enable us to be active in many ways.”¹⁴⁴ The prayer seemed to be answered in the academic work of the Stillman Professor at Harvard University, a Jesuit named Joseph Fichter.

142. Seidler, “Water Repellent,” 225.

143. Sheridan, “St. Louis,” 58.

144. Fitzpatrick, “Social Apostolate,” 130.

Chapter 4

A Sociological Study

In 1964 the JEA began preparations for addressing the specific crises facing the high schools. Jesuit Bernard Dooley, the Maryland Province's director of education, chaired a planning committee for a highly anticipated national meeting of Jesuits who would deliberate over twelve predetermined secondary school topics. Jesuits applied for and received a substantial grant from the Lilly Endowment to hold what they named the Workshop on the Christian Formation of High School Students. It would occur in 1966 in Los Angeles and Dooley predicted this high-stakes gathering would prove to be "a very important milestone in Jesuit education," resolving current instability and relieving any lingering disillusionment.¹ The linchpin to the workshop's success would be the careful consideration of the outcomes drawn from a proposed national study: a sweeping social science survey of Jesuit high school students, "a starting point for a pragmatic re-appraisal of the central objective of the Jesuit secondary system" (14). Dooley wanted the survey to investigate "how successful we have been in forming these young men in accordance with Christian ideals of education" (1). The JEA commissioned Joseph Fichter, a Jesuit of the Southern Province, to spearhead the enormous undertaking. Fichter was an excellent choice; he was a Harvard-trained sociologist who had recently returned to Cambridge to hold the distinguished Stillman Chair of Harvard Divinity School. He knew the Society, he

1. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., *Send Us A Boy ... Get Back a Man: Attitudes, Impressions and Experiences of 7,307 American Boys Who Are Being Trained for Christian Manhood in the Jesuit High School System* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Center for Social Sciences, 1966), 25.

had superb training, and he was convinced of the academic and corporate value of such a monumental project.

Fichter proceeded with a hypothesis he developed to guide his work: While matriculating in Jesuit high schools, students would experience progressive, harmonious development as they underwent the deliberate process of being transformed from boys into Christian men. He discovered that the results of his survey greatly challenged this working assumption and instead exposed a glaring inconsistency between Jesuit secondary school rhetoric and reality. He found the predicted outcome for student formation a far cry from the actual product and he anticipated his findings would contribute to the transformation of the high schools.

This chapter explores the different dimensions that contributed to this inconsistency, beginning with historical consideration of the intellectual, religious, and social contexts of Jesuit high school students. The chapter progresses then to a discussion of two specific tensions Fichter's survey uncovered. The first considers the desired formational outcome of social concern among students and the conflicting result of increased social status that developed from attending a Jesuit high school. The second is a consideration of the religious culture and formation which his findings revealed as unimpressive not only to the majority of students but seemingly to the Jesuits themselves. Then there is an examination of the circumstances regarding Jesuit leadership and the growing generational divisions within the Society. Next is a discussion of the Jesuits' response to the findings as revealed through the Los Angeles workshop and finally, the chapter discusses Fichter's second survey observation that Jesuit entrenchment in what

some in the younger generation of the Society were calling “bourgeois Catholicism” was producing tremendous resistance to proposed changes from within the Society. This division led to stagnation and then rupturing of the JEA and eventually gave birth to the Jesuit Secondary Education Association.

Historical Contexts

Elaine Tyler May describes the postwar period in America as “the era of the expert. Armed with scientific techniques and presumably inhabiting a world that was beyond popular passions ... reliance on expertise was one of the most striking developments of the postwar years.”² The JEA’s commissioning of a scientific study of the Jesuit high schools is an example of this turn toward the expert and there was support from some Jesuits at the grassroots of the high schools who were seeking such a turn toward expertise. The theologians at Bellarmine School of Theology in North Aurora, Illinois recommended that any study of Jesuit secondary schools “should be as scientific as possible, using all the tools of sociology, psychology, etc.”³ Jesuits at Georgetown Prep held that the efforts at understanding the young “would be more efficacious if we employed a professional psychologist.”⁴ There remained some skepticism of the social sciences, as Fichter reported, from “people who are inexperienced in research methodology, in this case by a few older

2. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 21.

3. 1966 JEA *Workshop on the Christian Formation of Jesuit High School Students: A Report from the Schools*, (hereafter cited as *Christian Formation Report*), workshop materials from Joseph Duffy, S.J. to author, 2008, 15.

4. *Ibid.*, 42.

Jesuits whose philosophical and humanist training made them suspicious of the whole sociological enterprise.”⁵

Yet the social sciences in general were gaining favor among other Jesuits, and one discipline in particular caught their attention as they considered this particular important study of the schools: sociology. In their voluminous survey of the Society of Jesus in North America, Jesuit sociologists Bruce Biever and Thomas Gannon acknowledged as “Jesuit identity, the changing structures of religious life, the status of traditional ministries, the effectiveness of formation, prejudice and discrimination, and conflicting theologies are plaguing the contemporary Society of Jesus, social science if it is worth its salt, is expected to provide solutions for each and all of them.”⁶

In the early 1960s the movement for social scientific study in Catholic schools was in its infancy, as reported by Princeton University sociologists Marvin Bressler and Charles F. Westoff. In their 1963 sociological study of Catholic education, economic values, and achievement, they reflected on the “absence of unambiguous directives from concrete research findings” for Catholic schools and the resulting need for scholars to “rely on plausible inferences derived from the main stream of sociological scholarship.”⁷ In other words, scholars lacked access to a body of distinctive Catholic data for research and analysis.

The Fichter survey would contribute to this needed collection of data and his project likely found inspiration in the recent scholarly work of the University of Chicago sociologist James S. Coleman who studied high school ‘social climate’ and its determinants

5. Fichter, *One-Man Research: Reminiscences of a Catholic Sociologist* (hereafter cited as *Sociologist*) (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), 207.

6. Bruce F. Biever, S.J., and Thomas M. Gannon, S.J., eds., *General Survey of the Society of Jesus: North American Assistancy*, vol. 3, *Research Studies* (Chicago: Argus Press, 1969), x.

7. Marvin Bressler and Charles F. Westoff, “Catholic Education, Economic Values, and Achievement,” *American Journal of Sociology* 69, no. 3 (1963): 226.

for American teenagers. Motivated by a “deep concern ... with high schools and with ways to make possible their better functioning, ways to make an adolescent’s experiences with learning more profitable and his whole adolescence a more satisfying period,” Coleman examined secondary education in Illinois schools.⁸ He selected ten institutions and administered a detailed sociological questionnaire to the students, which was then distributed a second time the following year in order to gain comparative data. He processed and interpreted the data, and engaged in interviews with students, resulting in his highly influential study titled, *The Adolescent Society*. Coleman’s work helped expand the notion of adolescence beyond its identity as a mere personal developmental stage so that it included the communal reality experienced among youths and their peers. While reflecting back upon this monumental project, Coleman described what he had come to recognize as “the broad problem of socialization ... how and when to give over autonomy to the young and how to structure their position so that the social subsystems within which adolescents socialize themselves have both autonomy and responsibility.”⁹ The question of religious socialization, the example of Coleman’s sweeping project, and the need for comparable Catholic school data, likely motivated both the JEA in its desire for the proposed study and Fichter in his determination to undertake it.

Fichter believed that the most important factor for consideration in his study was the religious component of Jesuit high school identity. Historically, Catholic institution building in America, especially schooling, had dual goals of promoting the Catholic faith

8. James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1961), vii.

9. Ibid., “Research Chronicle: The Adolescent Society,” in *Sociologists at Work: Essays on the Craft of Social Research*, ed. Philip E. Hammond (New York: Basic Books, 1964), 209.

while simultaneously assisting in the process of assimilation for the growing Catholic population. In the 1960s some Catholics began to wonder whether the project of assimilation was perhaps too successful and whether its cost was religious depth and development. In 1972, historian Philip Gleason reported that “in the quarter century since the end of World War II Catholics have definitely ‘made it’ as members of the American middle class.”¹⁰ Through increased adaptation, Catholics “saw the world in much the same light as other Americans. In short, they became thoroughly assimilated and Americanized” (95). This produced the effect of bringing “Catholics into more intense interaction with the non-Catholic world, and into closer conformity with its spirit and outlook” (97). Writing in 1958, sociologists John Kosa and John F. Nash affirmed the new status of American Catholics, and that any “observer of the social stratification in the United States today must surely ask whether anything remains of the old stereotype [of Catholics].”¹¹ They saw upward mobility for increasingly successful Catholics. “The present trend is toward an equality of social status where the social differences between Catholics and Protestants will disappear ... Their numbers are increasing in every new suburb; they are adopting more and more the traits of the Protestant middle class.”¹² Catholics were continually reminded by those such as Jesuit scholar Walter Ong, that “the vocation ... of any Catholic today, is not to be exclusive, not to be provincial, parochial, but to be open, conciliatory, unifying, vis-a-vis the entirety of the human race ... The Catholic vision is a vision which opens the

10. Philip Gleason, “Catholicism and Cultural Change in the 1960s,” *Review of Politics* 34 (1972): 95.

11. John Kosa and John F. Nash, “Social Ascent of Catholics,” *Social Order*, March 1958, 99.

12. *Ibid.*, 103.

lines of communication between men, not one which closes them.”¹³ Yet, as scholar Patrick Carey described, the cost of following this prescription was the possibility of Catholics having “capitulated ... by separating their religious principles from their everyday life.”¹⁴ Too much assimilation resulted in a loss of distinctiveness. Within certain Catholic circles there was sadness in recognizing how some “Catholics themselves—in their pursuit of suburbia, wealth, respectability, and a place in the American sun—had been influenced to a considerable degree by the spiritual bankruptcy of bourgeois-mindedness.”¹⁵ For example, Jesuits at Fairfield Prep expressed their disappointment in their students’ parents who seemed to value work in New York City more than the family. Parents were contributing to an expanding Catholic “commuter society” in Fairfield County, according to the Jesuits, who reported their “common observation that the parents have little deep Christian faith ... They are vitally interested in getting ahead, in fighting to the top of the business pinnacle, in finding the ‘right’ or prestige position.”¹⁶ Undoubtedly, the role of the church in the lives of these upward-moving members was in transition. Dennis Clark, a Philadelphia Catholic layman and urban activist, acknowledged that suburban communities “seldom have much spiritual perspective.”¹⁷ Yet he also saw potential for religious renewal as the suburbs continued to grow. “Catholicism has a critical and

13. Walter Ong, S.J., *American Catholic Crossroads: Religious-Secular Encounters in the Modern World* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), 58.

14. Carey, *Catholics in America*, 103 (see chap. 3, n. 71).

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Christian Formation Report*, 18.

17. Dennis Clark, “The Church in the Suburbs: The Community Organization that Will Dominate the Future,” *Social Order*, January 1955, 27.

elemental role to play in the apostolic hinterlands beyond the hive-like density of our cities.”¹⁸

In her study of the American family in the Cold War era, Elaine Tyler May argues that America communicated its superiority primarily through the “secure, abundant family life of modern suburban homes. In these structures, adorned and worshiped by their inhabitants, women would achieve their glory and men would display their success. Consumerism was not an end in itself; it was the means for achieving individuality, leisure, and upward mobility.”¹⁹ It was the domestic containment of suburban life which offered “a piece of the American dream for everyone.”²⁰ In his 1957 essay, *The Suburban Dislocation*, David Riesman described the social divisions that came from suburban expansion. Parents of adolescents strove to protect them by “moving to a community where the high price of real estate will keep down the numbers of the wrong sort of people and where the schools will be in the hands or under the control of educated parents like themselves.”²¹ These parents felt their hands were tied with regard to authority in their children’s adolescent culture, except in matters pertaining to schooling. Said Riesman, “The best they can do, and they know this, is to give their children a good education ... Thus the task of the schools as sorting agents becomes ever more important.”²²

For increasingly successful Catholics, the enrollment of their sons in Jesuit high schools communicated this sorting mindset. The Jesuits at Loyola High School in Maryland believed that their students experienced life at the high school as the fruit of

18. Ibid., 28.

19. May, *Homeward Bound*, 12.

20. Ibid., 14.

21. David Riesman, “The Suburban Dislocation,” in *Abundance for What? And Other Essays* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 262.

22. Ibid., 263.

their parents' desires for them socially. "Most cherish the social-status bequeathed them by their parents."²³ Life in the suburbs and attendance at the Jesuit school were a Catholic means to membership in what some Jesuits were referring to as "the ascendancy." Jesuits at Brebeuf High School in Indianapolis felt this desire to belong within the upper echelons of American society to be a block to the sincere Jesuit formation they wished for their students, a diminishing number of whom the Jesuits believed were actually receiving it. These Jesuits believed the values of the ascendancy were planted by parents and then cultivated in school. "Security, success, wealth, prestige, public acclaim ... Obviously, these values do not center around service, self-sacrifice and integrity. Yet a minority of boys in our school has a set of values that is quite different from the one in ascendancy. This seems due chiefly to a good home environment and to parents who instill and live out this set of values."²⁴ Yet there was also recognition that if the schools were to have influence, Jesuits needed to adapt because of looming competition with suburban schools. John Reinke, S.J., the president of Loyola Academy in Wilmette, Illinois, reminded his fellow Jesuits that "Catholic education comes under questioning more severely in suburban areas today because of the temptation to utilize the rich facilities that are at hand in suburban public schools."²⁵ Others saw the pursuit of Catholics who had moved to the suburbs and their embrace of accompanying suburban values as both contradictory to and conflicting with the mission of Jesuit education. They believed that the Jesuits should pursue a different population for the schools. Theodore V. Purcell, the director of the Jesuits' Cambridge

23. *Christian Formation Report*, 42.

24. *Ibid.*, 48.

25. John H. Reinke, S.J., "The Priestly Apostolate in Jesuit Secondary Education from the Standpoint of Administration" (hereafter cited as "Priestly Apostolate"), *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966): 21.

Center for Society Studies, wrote in the *JEQ* that “there is an obvious problem of high schools that have recently moved from the inner city to the suburbs. Such schools are at a distance from disadvantaged groups. A rector of a large suburban school says, ‘...It would appear to be because of our distance from areas in which these minorities live, and the reluctance of many to move into suburban association.’”²⁶

Lizabeth Cohen observed the irony of suburbia; “the source early on of egalitarian hopes,” morphing rapidly into “homogeneous suburbs occupying distinctive rungs in a clear status hierarchy of communities.”²⁷ It was suburban domestic containment that Catholics had come to embrace as a fruit of their assimilation efforts. Yet simultaneously, suburban life was also the source of anxiety, for “much of what had provided family security in the past became unhinged. For many Americans, and perhaps especially for American Catholics, the postwar years brought rootlessness ... and young mobile nuclear families could easily find themselves adrift.”²⁸ For parents, domestic containment provided “in the midst of a tense and precarious world situation, the quest for a sexually fulfilling, consumer-oriented personal life that was free from hardship. But the circumstances were different for their children, who broke the consensus surrounding the cold war and domestic containment.”²⁹ These children would become the high school adolescents and college students of the 1960s who sought greater community from among their peers. They became recognizable as “a group more distinct from children and adults. A large proportion of teens developed a separate existence, relatively free from the demands of

26. Theodore V. Purcell, S.J., “Administrators Look at the High School Social Apostolate,” *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966): 63.

27. Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 202.

28. May, *Homeward Bound*, 19.

29. *Ibid.*, 203.

adulthood and more independent of parental supervision. For longer and longer periods of their lives, young people were spending their time in the company of other young people within specialized youth-oriented institutions.”³⁰ As this new identity deepened, argue Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, adolescents experienced “alienation from adult roles and values ... Millions of teenagers identified with the vulnerable, sensitive, directionless youth who was unable to conform to the conventional adult values of suburban and corporate America.”³¹ With parents increasingly distanced from their children, it became the complicated task of educators to try to understand them in order to overcome this alienation. The Fichter study was the Jesuits’ attempt at this understanding so that the desired formational aims they had for the young would be more fully embraced and with greater success.

Emerging Voices: The First Survey and a Report from the Schools

Fichter arranged for the survey to be distributed to traditional Jesuit high schools that had both freshman and senior classes. That eliminated the two minor seminaries that the Jesuits staffed, as well as three schools that were new enough that they did not yet have senior classes, leaving a total of 44 high schools.³² After testing the questionnaire twice on juniors at Saint Ignatius in Chicago and making revisions, the final version was ready to be administered to over 7,000 freshman and seniors to take in April, 1965. The processed

30. Steven Mintz, *Huck’s Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 308.

31. Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 199.

32. Ryan Preparatory in Fresno, CA, and Bishop’s Latin in Pittsburgh were high school seminaries that the Jesuits staffed for diocesan vocations. Brebeuf Prep in Indianapolis, Jesuit High School of Sacramento, and Xavier High of Concord, MA, were without senior classes because of their recent foundations.

results provided him with three levels of comparative data, each meant to explore and test his “legitimate hypothesis that the longer the boy is under Jesuit influence the more he should ‘improve.’”³³ The first collection of data facilitated his consideration of the ideals of Christian formation as expressed in the school literature, which he then could compare with the actual experience the students reported in the survey. The second allowed for the internal comparison between freshmen and seniors, which would reveal changes based on the student experience of four years at the Jesuit high school. The final level of data provided him with the opportunity to examine specifically and in depth the high school seniors, “the end products of the system,” in order to reveal how different types of graduates emerge from the formation process (14). Some senior types that Fichter discovered and named were unflattering and hardly reflective of the ideal senior the Jesuits highlighted as the fruit of their educational efforts. These included the “Playboy,” “Girl Watcher,” “Rebel,” “Selfish,” “Conservative,” and “Spiritually Tepid.” Fichter wanted to show that a scrutiny of his findings “dissolves the mass profile of the senior into many profiles so that the quest for the ‘ideal type’ is almost as elusive with data as it is without data” (190).

Having commissioned the Fichter survey, the planning committee for the 1964 JEA workshop next wanted the Jesuit high schools to prepare for their upcoming national meeting. The committee recommended that each Jesuit high school engage in internal conversations centered upon the proposed workshop topics, from January 1965 to January 1966. At the end of that year of conversation each of the 35 schools that cooperated then submitted reflections to the central office of the JEA. These summaries were then compiled

33. Fichter, *Send Us A Boy*, 97.

and distributed nationally. The content from the *Report from the Schools* was organized along the twelve proposed workshop topics. While the Fichter survey and analysis represented the voice of the student, the *Report from the Schools* provided the perspectives of the faculty and administration, a concurrent effort that delighted Fichter as he continued his survey analysis, for he believed these joint projects would magnify the outcomes for school transformation. In his memoirs, Fichter recalled this as important “personal involvement of high school teachers and administrators who in the long run would be responsible for introducing changes and improvements at the local level. Some schools included the lay faculty in these preparatory discussions, and some schools held as many as fifteen meetings during the year. There was involvement also of the Jesuit seminarians at the five American schools of theology, the largest proportion of whom had had 2 or 3 years’ experience teaching as scholastics in the Jesuit high schools.”³⁴

In 1965 Fichter released the survey’s results and his analysis in a book he called *Send Us a Boy ... Get Back a Man*. Its portrayal and assessment were stark and sobering. He recalled, “I felt that none of the Jesuit secondary educators expected that the findings would be as bad as they were” (223). Fichter underscored repeatedly that the Jesuit schools “draw their students mainly from the socially advantaged stratum of urban American Catholic families. Since class position is an important factor in the preparatory and environmental development of adolescents, these schools are fortunate in admitting a ‘more selective’ grade of human material to begin with.”³⁵ It was concerning to him that while both freshmen and seniors “rank as the highest occupational value the opportunity

34. Fichter, *Sociologist*, 206.

35. Fichter, *Send Us A Boy*, 34.

to be helpful to others ... they would be most satisfied with the job of business executive” (131). He wondered “whether the faculty has a generally negative attitude” on social matters, and if that contributed to students’ lack of social concern. For example, there was a significantly unenthusiastic response to such proposals as giving a year of service after graduation, Medicare legislation, and the raising of the minimum wage. Fichter reminded his readers how “it must be remembered that this survey was taken at a time when the American ‘War on Poverty’ was being widely discussed all over the country. It seems significant ... that a much higher proportion of seniors (42%) than of freshmen (29%) express disapproval of higher social welfare payments” (119). It was a consistent outcome and Fichter was perplexed with how “items that have been the source of much controversy between American liberals and conservatives here elicit more liberal responses from freshmen than from seniors” (53). He suggested that these findings revealed how the schools were negligent of their Christian formational responsibilities. “It is more than a mere assumption to say that the school is an important agency of socialization, and that it is the function of the faculty to correct and improve the social attitudes that students bring” (54).

Perhaps most emphasized in his analysis of this survey was the widespread tumult surrounding religious identity. It was a struggle which affected the students, institutions, and the Jesuits themselves, especially with regard to a tension between the stated goals of the high schools’ Christian formation process and the actual outcomes. Fichter described how the rhetoric of “several catalogues tell us that ‘if the body is important, the soul is much more important ... It is the primary aim of Jesuit education to see that the student is intelligent enough and holy enough and well-balanced enough to save his soul’” (47). In the

preparatory reflections for the 1966 workshop, the Jesuits at Rockhurst High School in Kansas City described their vision for the ideal Jesuit high school graduate. “It is hoped and to be expected that he will feel something of deep, manly love and reverence toward God and that he will experience and display in his life an abiding awareness of the universal relevance of God.”³⁶ The Jesuits at Loyola High in Towson, Maryland maintained that a Jesuit education would enable a young man to “put his life on the way to true Christian greatness.”³⁷ Fichter reminded his readers how “without this central [religious] objective ... the continued existence of this particular school system would be meaningless.”³⁸ While the schools publicly emphasized religious identity, Fichter questioned the validity of the rhetoric when compared to the reality of the outcome of Jesuit high school formation. The findings revealed “twice as many seniors (30%) as freshmen (15%) say that the school influenced them ‘very little’ or ‘hardly at all’ in the development of a greater love of God” (49). There was mounting “evidence of a downward trend in moral behavior, honestly admitted by the seniors ... This appears to reflect a diminishing influence of the school over the four years in matters of character training and spiritual formation” (58). Malaise seemed to flow from the religious dimension and into the entirety of the formation program as students matriculated, and Fichter lamented how nearing the end of their studies, “we may suggest that the seniors make up in cheating what they lack in home study and class preparation” (104).

He expressed concern with the students’ assessment of their relations with the faculty, an important component of Jesuit education because of the values transmitted

36. *Christian Formation Report*, 23.

37. *Ibid.*, 25.

38. Fichter, *Send Us A Boy*, 87.

through spiritual conversation and mentoring. Positively, the majority of students reported that among the faculty, the Jesuit scholastic seminarians had the best capacity for understanding their lives. What gave him pause was that students cited lay teachers as being more capable in this capacity than the Jesuit priests, meaning that “the smallest proportion of students, both freshman and senior, think that the priest teachers have the best understanding of youth” (181). In the *Report from the Schools*, Jesuits themselves acknowledged this sentiment. Jesuits at Bellarmine College Prep in San Jose, California recommended that “boys should go to counselors; we don’t (not can’t) reach them.”³⁹ The feeling at Fairfield was that there might be “a patent dislike for Jesuits, even bordering on hatred” (18). They admitted such feelings persisted because “many of us close shop too early ... disappearing into the elevator to our room at the first possible moment,” with the result being that “students often consider Jesuits unqualified to answer questions about practical problems in the world, because they seem to live a comfortable life, remote from the problems of the students’ world” (51). Writing in the *JEQ*, Jacques Weber, the Jesuit president of Jesuit High School in Shreveport, Louisiana, criticized the stagnation of the priest-teacher. He recalled that when he was younger, the priest teacher was a man of “large memory, limited culture, clear and fearless defense of oversimplified systems of thought, and strong, almost athletic, discipline. He entertained the class with the same stale jokes year after year, dominated them with the same shouting, and taught with the same jejune outlines.”⁴⁰ While it was a caricature, Weber reported how “almost all the Jesuit alumni I’ve talked to feel that they were taught by just such a caricature. None of these men was stupid

39. *Christian Formation Report*, 23.

40. Jacques Weber, S.J., “The Role of the Priest-Teacher in Secondary Education,” *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966): 27.

or intolerant or bad. What was bad, however, about this type of teacher was that he failed miserably to *evoke* any response that could be called personal, dynamic, individual.”⁴¹

With the students observing daily the conduct and attitudes of the faculty, Fichter suggested that blame for any discrepancy between rhetoric and reality rested on the faculty and staff. For example, he noted that “since Jesuit secondary schools are interested in developing ‘Christian gentlemen’ one may raise the question here why the image of the boy who is ‘religious in a manly way’ arouses so little interest in the respondents themselves. Hardly any of the students in either year think that the teachers prefer this type of boy, and hardly any of the boys themselves prefer this self-image.”⁴² Only four percent of freshmen and five percent of seniors found a religious self-image to be attractive (76-77). Yet curiously, the “overwhelming majority of all students think that their character has been strengthened in some degree during their stay” at the Jesuit high school” (105). Fichter observed, “I came to the conclusion that the Jesuit secondary system was more successful in strengthening the character of students than in making Christians out of them ... It appeared, then, that these high schools were succeeding admirably in promoting a secular version of character formation” (221).

In fact, the downward trajectory of religious identity revealed a declining morale among students, so much so that “it appears quite clearly that the freshmen, who have had the least experience with the school, are more satisfied and more loyal than the seniors” (67). Fichter believed that the Society should be especially concerned about the 38 percent of those graduating who left with such deep dissatisfaction. “They give scant evidence of

41. Ibid., 27.

42. Fichter, *Send Us A Boy*, 46.

having received that Christian formation for which their parents sent them to the Jesuit high school and which the faculty strove to instill in them. Yet, they are products of the system; they received diplomas attesting that they have satisfied the requirements of the school” (205–6). The Jesuits at Cranwell, the boarding school in Lennox, Massachusetts, concurred with Fichter’s findings regarding the effect of their Christian formation program as they observed in their own school that a graduate was “preoccupied with self and tends to disrespect all authority. He appears to be a complacent person about money, power, and public acclaim, but wants these more than anything else in his life.”⁴³ Fichter emphasized that this grim assessment was likely quite worse in actuality because the survey did not include those students who transferred out of the Jesuit high school, or who were dismissed between freshman and senior year. “This means that the most seriously disaffected did not reach senior year and that the graduating class was relatively ‘purified’ of malcontents.”⁴⁴

Despite the dissatisfaction, the majority of seniors maintained that their Jesuit high school was better than the public school, yet only 62 percent would return to the school if they were making the decision again (66). Ironically, the same data revealed that 62 percent, “the largest single category of seniors[,] intend to go to a Jesuit college or university ... one of the healthiest indices of appreciation for the training they received in the Jesuit high school” (132). That the Jesuit high schools “are progressively successful in inculcating the value of Catholic college education in their students” suggested that there was something

43. *Christian Formation Report*, 49.

44. Fichter, *Send Us A Boy*, 206.

other than the fostering of religious identity that motivated the students to seek continuity between their Jesuit high school and college experiences (129–30).

It appears that the religious dimension of the Jesuit high school was sometimes resented and merely tolerated—not nearly the institutional end that Jesuit high school rhetoric professed it to be. Students liked being associated with the Jesuit high school so much that the majority intended to continue their studies at the Jesuit college or university because of the growing social significance of having attended a Jesuit school. The Fichter survey reveals how rather than forming the elite religious *insigne* desired by the Jesuits, the schools were instead becoming a means for American Catholics to strive toward membership within the American secular elite in a distinctively Jesuit way. Jesuits at Alma College, a California theologate, observed this as they reflected upon their recently completed high school teaching training. In the *Report from the Schools*, they described how “our schools tend to be divisive, i.e., Jesuit graduates are cliquish even after they graduate from our high schools and go into college. We don’t seem to want the ‘different’ type, the ‘rebel.’ Our graduates all seem to fit into a pattern.”⁴⁵ That pattern revealed a population increasingly able to strive upward toward the elite echelons of American society.

Different scholars have explored class fluidity in America and their analysis of classification system helps in the understanding of the dynamic that Jesuits observed at work within their secondary school system. The continued discussions of classification, especially with regard to elitism, are helpful for the consideration of the eliting of Jesuit high schools. As American Catholics adapted to life in America, they became increasingly aware of the importance of education as the means to success. Jesuits from Saint John’s

45. *Christian Formation Report*, 30.

High School in Toledo, Ohio, observed that if families were “‘status seekers,’ material affluence may be the boy’s main goal in life.”⁴⁶ In his 1959 work, *The Status Seekers*, American journalist and social critic of the 1950s, Vance Packard considered this evolving American class system. “In the past decade, the most fundamental split in our social structure has moved upward a notch. It is now between the so-called lower middle class and the upper middle class. This new, more formidable boundary results from the growing insistence on college diplomas as a minimum entry requirement for most of the higher-prestige occupations.”⁴⁷ The boundary distinguished what Packard named “the supporting classes” from “the diploma elite.”⁴⁸

Students at Jesuit schools were most certainly members of this diploma elite because they saw themselves as belonging to a status group centered upon schooling. While the Jesuits desired that students of their high schools matriculate at their own colleges in order to create the Catholic elite in America, increasing numbers of American Catholics discovered that remaining in this network of schools was a characteristic of increasing affluence. This was a phenomenon described by scholar Adam Howard who observed how “affluent groups appropriate educational credentials for the intergenerational transmission of social status, advantage, and power.”⁴⁹ Jesuits at Fairfield Prep noted that there were many students “who never wanted to be in Prep in the first place, but were sent by their parents’ choice which centers around social prestige rather than educational

46. Ibid., 8.

47. Vance Packard, *American Social Classes in the 1950s: Selections from Vance Packard’s “The Status Seekers,”* ed. Daniel Horowitz (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 43.

48. Ibid., 45.

49. Adam Howard, *Learning Privilege: Lessons of Power and Identity in Affluent Schooling* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 56.

opportunity.”⁵⁰ Scholar John Kenneth Galbraith echoed this dynamic with his understanding of the emergence in America of what he named the “New Class.” “Overwhelmingly, the qualification is education. Any individual whose adolescent situation is such that sufficient time and money are invested in his preparation, and who has at least the talents to carry him through the formal academic routine, can be a member. [The] opportunity for education is ... the open sesame.”⁵¹ The Jesuits at Fairfield observed further that the typical student is interested “not so much in finding a vocation within the framework of Christian commitment, as in finding a business or profession based on monetary motivation. He is very interested in prestige and identification with Prep is socially prestigious.”⁵²

The tension that seemed to be developing within Jesuit circles was that more Jesuits experienced this phenomenon as a problem; they questioned whether this movement toward affluence was in sync with the Society’s mission. As Howard furthered, “Through this appropriation, other groups, especially the poor, are at a decided disadvantage in obtaining the credentials necessary for educational mobility.”⁵³

Ruben A. Gaztambide-Fernandez sees the gaining of elite status in America as a process in which public schooling plays a crucial role for reference against which elite education constructs its identity. From their very foundation, Catholic schools in America measured themselves in contrast to public schools. The beginning motivation grew from perceived alienation but as Catholic schools succeeded, this morphed into status.

50. *Christian Formation Report*, 18.

51. John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 263–64.

52. *Christian Formation Report*, 51.

53. Howard, *Learning Privilege*, 56.

Gaztambide-Fernandez describes how elite schooling identifies against an imagined Other upon whom elites depend for their distinctiveness. Students at Jesuit schools demonstrated this in their reporting through the Fichter survey that overwhelmingly, “their school is ‘better’ than the public school.”⁵⁴ The conversations Jesuits were having about their concerns for the high schools suggest that they saw this process at work. Both the institutions and the students began to see themselves through what Gaztambide-Fernandez describes as “*the five E's of elite schooling*: exclusion, engagement, excellence, entitlement, and envisioning.”⁵⁵ Jesuit schools in the 1960s were in the process of becoming a status group in America as they began to foster “the ability to demonstrate particular behaviors, dispositions, knowledge, and aesthetic choices ... in order to communicate a particular way of being.”⁵⁶ Jesuits at Saint Joseph’s Prep in Philadelphia remarked that their graduates had “a sufficient amount of social poise; they seem to look and act like gentlemen when in public ... more spirit, more loyalty, more dedication. In Philadelphia, it is a mark of social prestige to have gone to the Prep.”⁵⁷

Perhaps American Catholics began to experience themselves as a component of what Shamus Rahman Khan describes as the “new elite.” By making a distinction between entitlement and privilege, Rahman Khan sees in the old elite a world of entitlement, “building their worlds around the ‘right’ breeding, connections, and culture.”⁵⁸ The “new elite” operate out of emerging privilege, “a sense of self and a mode of interaction that

54. Fichter, *Send Us A Boy*, 67.

55. Ruben A. Gaztambide-Fernandez, *The Best of the Best: Becoming Elite at an American Boarding School* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 6.

56. *Ibid.*, 11.

57. *Christian Formation*, 50.

58. Shamus Rahman Khan, *Privilege: The Making of an Adolescent Elite at St. Paul’s School* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 14.

advantage them” (14). “Elites are elites not because of who they are but because of what they are in relation to other social actors and institutions. Elites are made” (205). This echoes the point that Fichter made when he observed that “in some cities the Jesuit high school has a high reputation; it is hard to get into. In some places many parents and probably some boys look upon the opportunity of attending a Jesuit high school as a kind of privilege that is denied to others.”⁵⁹ So whether it was a “diploma elite,” “new class,” or “new elite,” it seems apparent that graduates of Jesuit high schools more and more identified within the spectrum of these emerging categories of social class.

It became equally apparent that some younger Jesuits very much disliked associating with this emerging elite. As they considered their recent experience of teaching, the scholastics from the Bellarmine School of Theology in North Aurora, Illinois, observed, “We meet here with a real problem. What originally was meant to be intellectual selectivity has perforce become social selectivity.”⁶⁰ The perceptions of this particular group of Jesuit seminarians would come to have tremendous influence upon the entire apostolic work of secondary education, beginning with the JEA’s decision to include separately their specific reflections in the *Report from the Schools*. Theirs was a most curious addendum to the schools’ reflections on the twelve topics for the Los Angeles workshop. The Bellarmine scholastics submitted a scathing critique of the proposed topics, observing how “the same headings could have been used in a workshop held in 1866” (206). They proposed that in considering the present state of the high schools, “we are not asking the right questions” (206) and that a better starting point for the workshop would be to ask, “Why have high

59. Fichter, *Send Us A Boy*, 64.

60. *Christian Formation Report*, 208.

schools?” (207). It was a question that was to linger in the Society. At the annual meeting of province directors of education, Bernard Dooley of Maryland echoed the scholastics inquiry. “Does an urgent need still exist or are Jesuits doing something which others (religious and lay) can do, and are doing, as well as they can?”⁶¹

The scholastics’ critique revealed a growing rift between generations of Jesuits in the United States. Some of the younger Jesuits of the 1960s perceived the Society of Jesus to be too disconnected to the greater American culture. They desired for a Jesuit to be known as a “citizen of the community who is both a teacher and a leader in the community ... He is no longer isolated.”⁶² Some of the younger Jesuits criticized what they saw as blind loyalty toward institutions. They believed this harmed apostolic vitality and they found it questionable whether the schools were a good use of their manpower. The institutional status quo “may produce docile, resigned Jesuits but not creative, imaginative ones convinced that the high school is a viable apostolate” (207). High schools drained them of energy that could be used for a greater good. They critiqued the college-preparatory model of the Jesuit high school and opined that “our efforts to maintain this structure leave us with no time, men, money, and energy to devote to changing the existing evils within the social structure” (207).

Some of the older membership, many of whom had spent years of their lives building this successful network of schools, felt stunned by the critique, shunned, and categorically dismissed by the young. Jesuit historian Paul Prucha recorded the perspective of the older Jesuits in his observations as the young chairman of the Jesuits’ Wisconsin

61. Bernard Dooley, S.J., Annual Meeting Agenda, Chicago, September 16–18, 1969, JEA Collection, Province Directors of Education Minutes Folder, Box 10.

62. *Christian Formation Report*, 209.

Province Congress, an assembly occurring within the same historical period. The dynamic at the congressional proceedings shared the origin of the tension expressed by the Bellarmine scholastics. The provincial, Joe Sheehan, identified “a fundamental tension that had arisen among Jesuits in the wake of Vatican II. There was an end to traditional work in formation and in spirituality and a rise of conflicts between groups—fundamentally between older members and the scholastics and young priests.”⁶³ Prucha recalled how “the younger members, exhilarated by the openness and freedom that marked their experience in religious communities ... were most aggressive in expressing their views, which held the traditional Society in a bit of disdain ... I remember that I thought at the time that the younger members held to their opinions firmly, almost without respect for the view of the traditional members ... The tension was palpable throughout.”⁶⁴

In their reflections for the Los Angeles workshop, the Bellarmine scholastics proposed that Jesuit high schools radically change the character of their student body “to include many college potential students from minority groups who normally cannot afford our schools.”⁶⁵ To do so would be “risky, dangerous work,” yet a worthy response to the “token integration” they perceived as present within the schools (208-9). “Are we obliged to follow just a few paces behind secular society so that we do not offend the middle class that supports us? Can we afford to be pace-setters?” (209). The scholastics warned, “If young people are to be drawn to the work of a permanent structure, they must be able to see that there is a real continuing need for the existence of this structure. If they begin to suspect

63. Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., “The Rise and Fall of the Wisconsin Province Congress 1971-1972: A Memoir” (unpublished manuscript, 2005), 12-13, Microsoft Word file.

64. *Ibid.*, 16-17.

65. *Christian Formation Report*, 208.

that the structure is existing for its own sake they are rapidly going to lose interest in patching a sinking boat. Perhaps past experience with ecclesiastical institutions has led them to be suspicious that this may be the case in the high schools. Currently the tremendous emphasis on social involvement both inside and outside the Church is causing a number of Jesuits to question whether the high schools are contributing anything to this social revolution" (207). They wanted the schools to be more actively engaged with the surrounding social upheaval, which was often occurring in the midst of the cities where Jesuit high schools were located. They observed how "the inner city bumps up against our schools whether we have time for it or not" and Jesuits needed to respond to the current reality of the American city (208). They saw three options for the high schools: "raze the old place and move to a suburb; stay in the inner city but form tiny academic ghettos; stay wherever you are and involve yourself with the social revolution" (208). To do this meant that the Jesuits needed to face "the unpleasant fact that we need our students more than they need us" (209). In his reflections on the high schools, Eugene E. Grollmer, a Jesuit in tertianship at Saint Joseph Hall in Decatur, Illinois, wrote in the *JEQ* that Jesuit high school administrators ought to be more attentive to the younger Jesuits in their midst. He warned that without greater sensitivity to the demands of those in the trenches, namely, the young Jesuits, the schools would fail because they would be without their most essential resource. "Whatever may be the unique qualities of a Jesuit high school, fundamental to them all there will be among the religious administrators and faculty a humble but motivating awareness: We are the Jesuits."⁶⁶

48. 66. Eugene E. Grollmer, S.J., "Jesuit High Schools and the Younger Jesuits," *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966):

General Congregation 31 and a New Father General

The scholastics' fervor for the transformation of the works of the Society of Jesus sprang from the greater changes occurring simultaneously in the Jesuits and in the Catholic church. Perhaps most significant was the election of a new father general, Pedro Arrupe, the first general of Basque heritage since the order's founder, Ignatius Loyola. Arrupe's predecessor, John Baptist Janssens, died on October 5, 1964 after having served as general for 18 years. In order to elect a new leader, the Jesuits convened the 31st general congregation in Rome. That this major gathering of Jesuit occurred concurrently with the Second Vatican Council is of great historical importance. The council had the intention of "aggiornamento" or *updating*, noted especially its December 1965 decree, *Gaudium et Spes*, which envisioned a Church that "carries the responsibility of reading the signs of the time and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel."⁶⁷ The Church was to "be aware of and understand the aspirations, the yearnings, and the often dramatic features of the world in which we live" (905). The council members recognized the tensions they were called to read within their current context. "In no other age has mankind enjoyed such an abundance of wealth, resources, and economic well-being; and yet a huge proportion of the people of the world is plagued by hunger and extreme need while countless numbers are totally illiterate" (906).

Specifically for religious life, the council's October 1965 decree, *Perfectae Caritatis*, described how religious orders like the Society of Jesus were to update themselves within

67. "Gaudium et Spes" [Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World], *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery, O.P. (Northport, NY: Costello, 1987), 905.

the greater context of Catholic renewal. It directed communities to relate directly to the original spirit of the founders. "Constitutions, directories, books of customs, of prayer, of ceremonies and such like should be properly revised, obsolete prescriptions being suppressed, and should be brought into line with conciliar documents."⁶⁸ The call for receptivity to the world and its complications in both *Gaudium et Spes* and *Perfectae Caritatis* influenced the Society's work as it formulated the decrees of the 31st general congregation. The congregation met for two separate sessions, first for the election of Janssens' successor and second, to continue deliberations for the decrees that would promote the updating of the Society as the Vatican council instructed. Joseph Becker, a Jesuit economist, described how "the most significant development between the two sessions was the congregation's own change of attitude. It shifted from a cautious mood of protecting tradition to an attitude of reevaluating everything."⁶⁹

At the general congregation's first session, Pedro Arrupe was elected the 29th superior general on May 22, 1965 and he immediately captured the imagination of the Society, with many Jesuits eventually describing him as a second founder of the order. Having been a missionary in Japan for about seven years, he headed a rescue party to go into Hiroshima after the atomic bombing in 1945. This bold image of Arrupe moving through a storm of pain, destruction, and confusion in order to offer hope and stability captures well the spirit of this man who experienced the complexities of the 1960s world and how he saw the Society of Jesus ministering within it. Where many saw chaos and desolation, Arrupe envisioned the potential of possibility and consolation. "If we wish to

68. "Perfectae Caritatis" [Renewal of Religious Life], *Vatican Council II*, 613.

69. Joseph M. Becker, S.J., *The Re-Formed Jesuits*, vol. 1, *A History of Changes in Jesuit Formation During the Decade 1965-1975* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1992), 38.

serve the church and humanity there is only one way by which religious life can respond: namely by redimensioning itself, proposing topics of study and resolutions, creating community, work and structures that will meet new situations.”⁷⁰

This was Pedro Arrupe’s strategy as he faced the questions of change and the call for the Jesuits’ own *aggiornamento*. The challenge for Jesuits was to properly discern their response to the present circumstances. “It is of capital importance to know how to discover and discern, in a way that leads to wise direction, the new situations and currents that are prevalent: secularization, change, development, liberation, criticism ... de-institutionalization, de-mythification.”⁷¹ He knew well the complicating factors at work in the world in which the Society functioned: the “dizzying scientific progress, with a corresponding technological advance ... the demographic explosion; industrialization and urbanization; the relative unification of the most civilized countries of the planet; the universal diffusion of news and ideas.”⁷² These complex and confusing circumstances confronted the very realities in which people existed; if the Society was to relate effectively to the shifting world it was to serve, there simply was no other option than to embrace the self-transformation needed to meet the world in its present reality. Of paramount importance was the daunting task of positioning religious identity so that it maintained relevance. The sociologist of religion, Thomas O’Dea, captured both the opportunity and the tension at hand. He noted how updating signified that “the Catholic Church has returned to relevance. What happens within its confines from now on will be the concern

70. Pedro Arrupe, S.J., “Some Attributes of Religious Life in the Future,” *Challenge to Religious Life Today* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1979), 167.

71. Arrupe, “The Modern Superior,” *A Planet to Heal: Reflections and Forecasts* (hereafter cited as *Planet*) (Rome: Ignatian Center of Spirituality, 1975), 117.

72. *Ibid.*, 2.

of all. In returning to relevance from its long, defensive withdrawal, it has taken on a new responsibility. Can the Church maintain its unity and bring about its sociological demythologization? Can it shed the forms evolved historically and find new modes of thought, expression, and participation relevant to the new age which is advancing upon us? ... It is at any rate on trial before the world to bend its every energy in the attempt.”⁷³

For the Jesuits of American high schools, O’Dea’s assessment accurately described the perceived pressure for updating. A new mode of thought that was central to maintaining relevancy in the world was the acknowledgment and acceptance of pluralism at work in the world. Pluralism was perhaps the generational issue within the Society that caused such deep division. The deliberations for the Jesuits’ coming 1966 high school workshop addressed the tension within specific communities. At Gonzaga in Spokane, Washington, one Jesuit described how “the high school graduate can accept pluralism. The kind of mind I am envisaging does not need the ghetto for security because his faith is not based on running away from questions or an immature reliance on authority, but on intelligent, free, critical, personal assent ... He can accept the value of the secular.”⁷⁴ The Bellarmine scholastics had thoughts on the issue as well, wondering, “Is our view of forming Catholic leaders too narrow for these pluralistic days?”⁷⁵ Pluralism would come to significantly influence the Society’s governance and common life by leading the Society to reevaluate its traditional way of proceeding. Pluralism was more than external awareness of ethnic diversity and an emergent global vision of humanity. It included the growing recognition internally that the Society was composed of individual men who were unique

73. Thomas F. O’Dea, *The Catholic Crisis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 250.

74. *Christian Formation Report*, 26.

75. *Ibid.*, 210.

in their gifts and contributions. Acknowledgement of pluralism within the Society contributed to the shocking and sweeping changes to its self-understanding, from the giving of the *Spiritual Exercises*, to the discernment of the missioning of its men, and the administration of its institutions, especially its schools.

Immediately, Arrupe fashioned a pluralistic vision influenced by modern notions of historical consciousness, hoping that the Society would come to recognize and then value within the world “the fact of pluralism at all levels ... [which would] make it difficult for us to call it into question.”⁷⁶ Given the potential for a response which favored change within the Society, he faced constantly the challenging task of articulating an interpretation of a pluralistic world that was sensible for Jesuits without minimizing the essentiality of the religious identity of their mission. His intention was to present the pluralistic world optimistically, even in its current mode of instability, as a bearer of grace. Of the present, he said, “Each new day makes one more aware of the unity of all mankind, of the independence of the various sectors of the world and the responsibility that all people have for their common destinies. In the midst of differences of races, colors and cultures, the church must make evident everywhere the words of Christ.”⁷⁷

Pluralism eventually enabled the modifications within the Society’s governance and common life. The desired result was the modern Jesuit, who Arrupe believed, “will discover in the rapid changes of our times the signs through which the Spirit speaks.”⁷⁸ While the

76. Arrupe, “The Society of Jesus in the World Today,” in *Visit of Father General to the American Assistancy, 1971: Talks and Writings* (hereafter cited as *Talks and Writings*) (Washington, DC: Jesuit Conference, 1971), 2.

77. Yolanda T. De Mola, S.C., “Justice and Peace,” in *Recollections and Reflections of Pedro Arrupe, S.J.* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1986), 104.

78. Arrupe, “Letter to Theologians of the American Assistancy” (June 29, 1971), in *Talks and Writings*, 71.

modern world was making a significant impact upon the Society's governance and common life, Arrupe was opening up possibilities for a similar impact of the Society upon the world. A sincere concern for humanity called for active engagement of the world on the part of the Jesuits. The Society was to "... discover, at each instant of time, each new encounter with the changing world, how it can best adapt and harness itself to man's needs."⁷⁹ Adaptation, then, was the key to his understanding of the world and its impact upon the Society. With the gradual formation of a renewed vision of its mission to the modern world, Arrupe discerned the need to contrast the old Society still in need of renewal, and the envisioned new Society, confident in itself and ready to engage modernity in all of its complexity and potential. This difference applied directly to the tensions that had arisen in the high schools. Arrupe sought to reassure those Jesuits who found themselves disheartened as a result of the divisions. They "should not be dismayed or discouraged at our own deep need for revitalization ... where we have been relying excessively on external supports—detailed rules, rigidly fixed daily schedules, special kinds of dress, and the like—we may now feel exposed to and shivering in the wind of freedom and bewildered by calls for authenticity and personal decision-making."⁸⁰ From his perspective, the renewal of the modern Society depended upon internal motivations, for the externals were falling apart. The place for these motivations to be nurtured was in the formation of the Society's future membership. He maintained that "the Society is not worn out or tired or spent. Organizations do not follow the biological law of senescence. The youth of its new members continuously brings to the Society a new vitality ... The spirit of

79. Ibid., "The Challenge of the World and the Mission of the Society," in *Planet*, 306.

80. Ibid., "Jesuits and Education," 245-46.

the Society, vivified by our love for Christ and men, can never grow old even in its most aged members. Our duty is to keep this spirit incarnate in the Society ever alive, ever renewing itself.”⁸¹

The sustaining of this lively and youthful spirit within the modern Jesuit occurred through certain qualities each man would come to possess during the Jesuit formation process. These fruits of the formation would help him grow to discern and then embrace the modern world. Arrupe held that for a Jesuit, “merely to pause and correct past mistakes will not suffice. We must turn our gaze to the future and anticipate it, take it by surprise, master it, transform it as the Holy Spirit inspires us to do.”⁸² The Jesuits’ vision was to be absolutely forward thinking, which was the point the men from Bellarmine in North Aurora tried to emphasize in their critique of the workshop topics. While Arrupe valued the gifts and contributions of the Society in the past, the new vision simply had to be anticipatory, which meant that some of the historical aspects of the Society’s way of proceeding were to be abandoned. Renewal would be a long process but Arrupe believed it to be ultimately worthy of effort. He recognized the Society “cannot in a few weeks or even in two or three years lighten the baggage which may have been weighing down and holding back our pilgrim steps.”⁸³ To take those steps did not mean total abandonment of the past, for Arrupe did not want to lose the influence Jesuits had in the world. He cautioned that “stepping down from our posts of power would be too simple a course of action ...

ordinarily it merely serves to hand over the entire social structure to the exploitation of the

81. Ibid., “Letter to Theologians,” 75.

82. Ibid., “Challenge of the World,” 307.

83. Ibid., “Jesuits and Education,” 245.

egotistical.”⁸⁴ However, he failed to describe how Jesuits were to accomplish both. De-institutionalization occurred under the banner of freedom, yet institutions also contained the seeds of influence and social action needed to transform the world, ends which he very much desired the Society to maintain as it transformed itself.

In the United States, Jesuit reaction to Arrupe’s desires was mixed. For example, as he reflected upon the transformations that occurred, Joseph Shea approved of them. “Ten years ago we were more interested in the common good ... But with today’s emphasis on personalism and individualism we as a group seem to be striving to establish an atmosphere of freedom and trust which is more conducive to the development of individual responsibility ... We are more flexible; we are listening more, and we are dialoguing more with Jesuit confreres to find the solutions and the line points to be held.”⁸⁵

Pedro Arrupe proposed a beginning for renewal; he asked the Society for trust and to recognize that “this is only the first stage of a process that is yet to unfold to us unsuspected potentialities for good or ill.”⁸⁶ As they moved forward after his election, the members of the 31st general congregation issued various decrees reflecting the boldness of the emerging Society of Jesus under Arrupe’s leadership, including the twenty-first decree, “The Better Choice and Promotion of Ministries.” It addressed Jesuit institutions perceived by the congregation as having resisted cultural adaptation over the years and thus in desperate need of transformation. “Our labors have not produced all the results that we

84. Ibid., “Men and Women for Others,” in *Justice with Faith Today: Selected Letters and Addresses II* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980), 137.

85. Joseph Shea, S.J., “Discipline in the Jesuit High School and Student Government and Responsibility,” in *JEA Commission on Secondary Schools*, University of Detroit, April 5-7, 1969, Secondary School Minutes Folder, Box 24, 20.

86. Arrupe, “Challenge of the World,” in *Planet*, 306.

could rightly expect ... Part of the reason for this is our failure at times continually to renew our apostolic or missionary spirit ... the principal reason is our failure adequately to adapt our ministries to the changed conditions of our times.”⁸⁷ It declared that “this ability to recognize change is ... a humility that makes us open and faithful to all creation so that ... we may bring about a continual renewal and adaptation of our apostolate.”⁸⁸ Of great importance was the transformation of the many educational apostolates of the Society, works where the congregation recognized the capacity for making the greatest impact on the present world and its emerging future. It advised administrations to “be receptive toward new forms of this [educational] apostolate, particularly adapted to the present age, and we should energetically investigate or fashion these new forms either in our own schools or elsewhere ... Superiors should favor research, experiments, the discovery of new methods of teaching.”⁸⁹

1966: The Annual Meeting, the Los Angeles Workshop and a New View

It was within this context of the ecumenical council, the 31st general congregation, and the inspiration of a new father general that two very different meetings occurred in the United States regarding the Jesuit high schools. One was the JEA’s annual meeting, which occurred in April in Chicago. As John K. Mott, S.J., the assistant principal at University of Detroit High School reported in the JEQ, “This year’s meeting was, once again, the story of men in crisis. The foe this time was internal, and the sessions may have seemed like an

87. “The Better Choice and Promotion of Ministries,” decree 21, nos. 360–361, in *Documents of the 31st and 32nd Generation Congregations of the Society of Jesus* (hereafter cited as GC) (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977), 191.

88. *Ibid.*, no. 368, 193.

89. “The Apostolate of Education,” decree 28, nos. 500, 519, in GC, 229, 233.

exorcism of the devils of discontent. Voices of doubt have been heard in the land. This meeting tried to help us confront ourselves and clarify our educational identity.”⁹⁰ There was anxiety expressed about Fichter’s study and its significance and how the Society would respond. Mott reported that the delegates at the annual meeting posed several troublesome questions based on the survey’s findings in anticipation of the future. They wondered, “What are we willing to settle for statistically? Should we open, close, or revamp our schools on the basis of these studies? What will be the cut-off line? There are some questions that await us. If this was an exorcism, how well did it take? ... this is a different kind of devil, driven out not even by money and manpower, but ultimately by the vision each Jesuit has of himself and his vocation.”⁹¹

Later that year, the scene across the country was quite different, where delegates from across the country gathered for the anticipated workshop in Los Angeles from August 4 until the 16th. They arrived having studied and discussed the twelve topics: The Contemporary Adolescent in America, The Profile of the Ideal Jesuit High School Graduate, The Profile of the Real Jesuit High School Graduate, Formation Through Teaching, Formation Through the Religion Program, Formation Through the Spiritual Exercises, Formation Through the Liturgy, Formation Through the Sodality, Formation Through the Apostleship of Prayer, Formation Through Guidance and Counseling, Formation Through the School Administration, and Formation Through Extracurricular Activities. In addition to having read the *Report from the Schools* regarding the twelve topics and the Bellarmine scholastics’ addendum, the delegates to the workshop were expected to

90. John K. Mott, S.J., “The 1966 High School Meetings: A Report,” *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966): 12.

91. *Ibid.*, 18.

have read a series of background papers, one for each of the twelve topics to be considered by the assembly. The Jesuits procured a variety of experts to address these topics at the workshop itself, including a noted psychologist, Alexander A. Schneiders, Ph.D., a professor from Boston College and a founder of the American Catholic Psychological Association. A layman devoted to Catholic education, Schneiders' expertise was in adolescent psychology. For the Los Angeles workshop, he delivered a background paper addressing the adolescent in the world today. He expressed significant concern over the influence of both the "affluent society" and the "feminine mystique" in their relationships with the contemporary adolescent. "There is perhaps no single factor that has so deeply influenced our values and our way of life than the continued increase of wealth and the subsequent devotion to material things," he wrote. He saw affluence as related to feminism, which he believed "has often stripped the males of their identity. It is this symbolic emasculation which stands in the way of numerous young men striving for maturity, since maturity of its nature is dependent upon a healthy and well developed self-identity."⁹² He emphasized how these two developments challenged deeply the identity of the Jesuits' network of all-boys religious schools. While questions regarding wealth and religious identity had currency in Jesuit circles, acknowledgment of both the role of women and the issues surrounding masculine identity was new. In the deliberations among the Jesuit high schools as recorded in the *Report from the Schools* their concern sometimes focused upon the effects these factors played upon the fathers of their students. In their deliberations before the workshop, Jesuits expressed concern about the changes that were occurring in the

92. Alexander A. Schneiders, "Background Paper Topic 1: The Adolescent in the World Today," in *Christian Formation Background Papers*, 15.

American family. At Saint John in Toledo the Jesuits observed that if a student's father was a "company man' often on the road, the boy may lack sufficient masculine influence and discipline in home life."⁹³ Jesuits at Fairfield Prep noted how "fathers, because of their early departure for work and late arrival home from work, have abdicated their role" (18). At Boston College High School the sense was that students were "too much subjected to feminine influence—from girl friends as well as from their mothers. This influence manifests itself in indecisiveness, lack of initiative, lack of 'team spirit,' surrender to the above comfortable ideal. Because of this influence and, frequently, their distance from their fathers, they experience a great need of asserting their masculinity and of identifying with someone of virile personality" (13).

At the workshop's beginning, the delegates heard a letter addressed to them from Pedro Arrupe, who reminded them how they "must have a deep understanding of this modern boy and of the secularistic world in which he lives; you must accept him as he is, and ultimately transform him and through him his world into Christ."⁹⁴ He imagined that their deliberations for greater understanding of students would lead eventually to proposals for changes in their secondary school administration and for this, Arrupe gave the Jesuits permission to adapt the schools as they saw fit. "I encourage you in your efforts to up-date and modernize these means to Christian formation and to adapt them to the particular needs of the students in our North American schools. We look to you also to discover, with the help of the Holy Spirit, new ways of speaking to this generation and new methods

93. *Christian Formation Report*, 8.

94. "The Christian School—A New View: Position Papers" (hereafter cited as "New View"), *Christian Formation: Loyola University of Los Angeles*, August 4–16, 1966, vii–viii.

of preparing them for roles of influence in their community and of making them aware of the spiritual and social needs of their fellowmen throughout the world” (viii).

Edward J. Sponga, the chairman of the board of governors for the JEA, delivered the keynote address for the workshop. He echoed Arrupe’s permission for change, affirming how both Vatican II and the 31st General Congregation “have already made it fairly respectable to question deeply everything from our vows to our methods of training of Jesuits to the relevancy of all our types of apostolates” (x). He saw the workshop as an absolutely critical moment for Jesuit secondary education, “a time in which the men will be separated from the boys, and which we may describe in another way, as a time of discovery of what all this changing and aggiornamento is really about” (x). He reminded the delegates that “the days of paternalism, the time of sheltering our youngsters from the world, are at an end. The walls of the Catholic ghetto have been torn down and our graduates must be prepared to live Christian lives in the secular world, and by their lives transform it” (xiv). He proposed that the workshop design a specifically new view of Jesuit schooling in America, one that emphasized a “Christian community of maturing young men who are influenced in the classroom, in extracurricular activities, in small informal gatherings, by men who lead full Christian lives, motivated by charity, enriched by living the liturgy together, concerned with serving their fellow men and developing the world” (xv). In his final remark, Sponga challenged, “You must not be afraid to recommend that certain things be changed or eliminated completely if you honestly think that the job can be done better by a different means” (xv).

The end result was a series of thirteen position papers on the workshop topics, written by task force members. The position paper dealing with the contemporary adolescent revealed a continued struggle with the Jesuits' ability to articulate just what adolescence looked like in a Jesuit high school. A basic understanding seemed to suffice: "Adolescence begins at puberty and terminates at adulthood (or maturity, which is a dynamic concept). It is a bridge, a transition period, in which there is a natural and inherent drive to maturity" (1). The workshop investigated the structure of that bridge as it related to formation in a Jesuit high school. When Fichter reflected later on his experience at the workshop, what most struck him was the receptivity among the delegates. "This general willingness to accept the results of the survey may at first seem remarkable, because the findings were basically negative—indicating that the high schools were not entirely successful in 'forming these young men in accordance with Christian ideals of education.' Perhaps the delegates were not surprised or disappointed with my report for two reasons: first they knew the factual situation because of their day-by-day experience in the schools themselves, and second, because they had just spent a year in the honest group appraisal and self-evaluation of the objectives and attainments in each Jesuit high school."⁹⁵ In the position paper considering formation through social teaching and actions, the task force members emphasized how "the call of the Church and the challenge of our times make us see how necessary it is for the Jesuit secondary school to contribute to the great task of educating the economically underprivileged. Further, the findings of social psychology make it imperative that we give all our students close academic personal acquaintance with

95. Fichter, *Sociologist*, 208.

qualified members of so-called disadvantaged or minority groups.”⁹⁶ The Jesuits made resolutions, the first instructing schools “to improve the ‘mix’ of their student bodies, primarily planning to bring in larger numbers of academically qualified students from disadvantaged groups of whatever racial, national or religious background” (61). Additionally, they wanted more emphasis placed upon the social sciences, with more course offerings, as well as well teachers who have “Christian attitudes on the vital social questions of the times ... The Jesuit high school, as an institution, should take a strong Christian stance on social questions under the leadership of the administration, and should take effective means to better the social institutions of the area in which it is located” (62). In his reflections on curriculum, John Reinke, the president at Loyola Academy, agreed. “If we refuse to read again the signs of the times in which we live we shall provide our students with an education which was suitable for their grandfathers.”⁹⁷

The workshop created a special task force to address directly the “stark questions” posed by the scholastic theologians at Bellarmine in North Aurora. The members stated that the workshop was “indebted to the Bellarmine theologians for focusing our attention on the way in which our high schools can participate more fully in the social apostolate.”⁹⁸ However, the delegates felt that the scholastics overstated their observations, for it was a “fact that the high schools of the Society do already participate in a greater or less degree in the social apostolate ... In many of our schools, qualified students who are unable to pay tuition have been and are accepted” (63-64). According to Theodore V. Purcell, the director of the newly established Cambridge Center for Society Studies, “considering the modest

96. “New View,” 58.

97. Reinke, “Priestly Apostolate,” 22.

98. “New View,” 63.

income of many of our schools, it is gratifying that over three-quarters provide scholarship help [for disadvantaged students].”⁹⁹ The Jesuits did acknowledge, how “greater efforts might be made ... to identify qualified students from minority groups, to seek them out, and to encourage them to attend our schools.”¹⁰⁰ They were interested in the Society investigating possible cooperative efforts with other religious communities or with public agencies. They resolved that “much more attention should be given to the disadvantaged,” and that “a pilot project should be attempted in one or two of our existing schools, or in a new school, for the purpose of educating a student body composed chiefly of disadvantaged boys from the various religious persuasions” (64).

Finally, the workshop appointed a committee for the implementation of the resolutions of the workshop to recommend the way for schools to move forward with the new view of the high school that the workshop created. The workshop produced an important document, *The Christian School—A New View*, to guide them through the transformation of the schools. This committee advised the JEA to formulate a checklist to accompany *The Christian School*, based upon the resolutions. This checklist went to each high school and the committee recommended that each year the JEA monitor progress by gathering feedback from the school in order to evaluate improvement. They also advised the position papers be “summarized and popularized for publication in an attractive brochure for the parents of our students so that they will better understand and cooperate in attaining the objectives of the school for their boys” (67). That recommendation came to fruition in the form of a brochure titled, “Adolescence is a Bridge.” The cover photo

99. Theodore V. Purcell, S.J., “Administrators Look at the High School Social Apostolate,” *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966): 61.

100. “New View,” 64.

featured silhouettes of three boys standing in water, gazing upon a bridge with fireworks exploding in the background. The JEA ran out of the 50,000 copies immediately. However, prior to circulation the brochure was critiqued by an ad hoc committee appointed by JEA officers, who expressed some skepticism about the validity of the brochure's content. Some felt it presented the schools as if transformations were already completed; the reality was that the changes were only beginning. Jack Kramer, a Jesuit at Brebeuf High School in Indianapolis, had "very serious misgivings about some parts. I feel that whatever we publish ought to be the truth, even though it hurts." The rhetoric frustrated him, particularly a paragraph that described the relationship between faculty members and students. Mark Link, the Jesuit who created the summation brochure, described how "every faculty member in a Jesuit school attempts to stand before his students as a scholar, a Christian gentleman, and a brother in Christ."¹⁰¹ Kramer believed "this paragraph is an out and out untruth, and let's face it. We settle for whatever we can get ... This paragraph simply must be stricken."¹⁰²

The *Los Angeles Times* covered the conclusion of the workshop with a banner headline on the front page of its editorial section reporting, "Jesuit Schools Accept Teen-Age Revolution: Educators, Ending Workshop Here, Aim to Cater to Turbulent Youngsters."¹⁰³ The story revealed how not only were the Jesuit schools acknowledging the teenagers' revolution, but "the nation's 52 Jesuit high schools are headed for a revolution" themselves, which would involve "changes in teaching methods, curriculum, policy making

101. JEA brochure, "Adolescence is a Bridge," Fichter Report Folder, Box 27.

102. Jack Kramer, S.J., to W. J. Schmidt (April 12, 1967), *ibid.*

103. "Jesuit Schools Accept Teen-Age Revolution: Educators, Ending Workshop Here, Aim to Cater to Turbulent Youngsters," *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1966, Secondary School Commission, Fichter Survey Folder.

and even racial mix.”¹⁰⁴ As O’Dea predicted, the church, and here specifically, its Jesuit high schools, would soon be on trial before the world.

The Second Survey

Despite all of the effort and all of the visionary rhetoric stemming from the 1966 workshop, the reality was that malaise only seemed to spread in the high schools. As William J. O’Malley, an English teacher at McQuaid Jesuit High School in Rochester, NY, wrote in his rather dramatic piece in the *JEQ* titled “Staying Alive,” “We are the second-class Jesuits, the Mets, the Norman Thomases, the Charlie Browns. We are the Inner Cities of the province. Give us your tired, your poor.”¹⁰⁵ There was a general feeling of neglect, that Jesuits had been abandoned at high schools by the Society’s leadership and that their pressures were insurmountable. “After a few years, the high school teacher sits in his room and moans, ‘It’s too much. It’s just too much.’”¹⁰⁶

There was also a deepening resentment toward the colleges and universities. The colleges and universities seemed to be moving forward into the modern world in a way that made some in the high schools feel that they were neglected. For example, in 1967 the Missouri and Wisconsin provinces newsletter reported “a new look” for Jesuits at Saint Louis University. They began to wear non-clerical attire in an experiment authorized by the Jesuit rector. “About 20 members of the community have been given permission to wear suits and ties in their offices, in classrooms, about the campus and at athletic events ... Father Stauder said the experiment was a ‘step in the direction of a greater professionalism

104. Ibid.

105. William J. O’Malley, S.J., “Staying Alive in High School,” *JEQ* 30, no. 1 (1967): 41.

106. Ibid., 42.

on the part of the Jesuit in his mingling and conversing with his colleagues.”¹⁰⁷ Though they felt out of step with the increasingly professional colleges, O’Malley maintained that “the good high school teacher does not want to be a college teacher. He realizes that he gets young people at a far more malleable part of their growing. He merely chafes that all Jesuits are equal, but some are more equal than others. It’s amusing how our image of college life conjures up tree-shaded lanes with professors smoking pipes, while our image of high school is a tile-and-vinyl blur.”¹⁰⁸ Eugene E. Grollmer, a tertian at Saint Joseph Hall in Decatur, Illinois, echoed O’Malley as he assessed how “the younger Jesuits think that somehow the status of a high school teacher has to be reinstated in the Society of Jesus. There seems to be a rather general devaluation of his work as something minor league or something to be done when a Jesuit cannot do anything else.”¹⁰⁹ Jacques Weber, the president at Jesuit High School in Shreveport, Louisiana, warned “that we will not stay in secondary education unless something is done about the second-class citizenship that Jesuit teachers have in *secondary* schools.”¹¹⁰

It was as if the preparations, the survey and its analysis, and the workshop itself with its grand resolutions had never occurred. Fichter was immensely disappointed. “With all the talent that was applied to the problems, and with all the determination that was expressed for renewal, something should have happened in these high schools during the ensuing two years.”¹¹¹ The reality was that the schools continued to steadily decline, at least according to the resolutions the schools made at the 1966 workshop. “The returns at the

107. *The Jesuit News-Letter: Missouri and Wisconsin Provinces* 27, no. 2 (November, 1967), 31.

108. O’Malley, “Staying Alive,” 44.

109. Grollmer, “Jesuit High Schools and the Younger Jesuits,” *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966): 46.

110. Weber, “The Role of the Priest-Teacher in Secondary Education,” *JEQ* 29, no. 1 (1966): 32.

111. Fichter, *Jesuit High Schools Revisited* (Washington, DC, JEA, 1969), 1.

end of the first semester of the 1966-1967 school year indicated that little was being done. At the end of the second semester they were even less encouraging.”¹¹² To repeat the survey of Jesuit high school students was part of the original vision for Jesuit high school assessment. The JEA wanted to follow up with the 1966 freshmen when they were seniors, so when it came time to prepare the 1968 survey, Fichter intended the questions to remain essentially identical, yet he sought proposals for changes from the principals. With deep frustration, he expressed his dismay in the lack of interest, noting how “only twenty-four high schools responded to the request ... [This] may speak volumes about the apparently small impact that the previous research project and its interpretation had at the local level.”¹¹³ In an August 14, 1969 letter to Paul V. Siegfried, the president of the JEA, Fichter described finding the schools’ reaction to the first survey incredulous. “You know well my suspicions that the previous Survey Report was not widely studied nor taken seriously. This time I suspect that you are making deliberate efforts to get the report in the hands of people who should read it and who may do something about it. For a utilitarian like myself it is always a disappointment when nothing is done about the findings of a research project.”¹¹⁴

This second survey was administered in April, 1968 and it included three additional schools that had lacked seniors at the time of the earlier surveys. There were four new schools that did not exist in 1966 but these were not included as they currently lacked a senior class. These schools were Bishop Connolly in Fall River, Massachusetts, De

112. Fichter, *Sociologist*, 209-210.

113. Fichter, “Revision of the Jesuit High School 1965 Questionnaire,” October 1967, Secondary School Commission, Fichter Survey Folder, Box 27, 1.

114. Fichter to Paul V. Siegfried, S.J., August 14, 1969, Secondary School Commission, Fichter Survey Folder, Box 27.

Smet High School in Saint Louis, Saint John High School in Toledo, Ohio, and Walsh High School in Cayahoga Falls, Ohio. These schools were predominantly suburban. For example, the Jesuits purchased a 30-acre tract between the exclusive Saint Louis suburbs of Emerson and Ladue to build a second high school in that city. The expansion was to meet demand for Jesuit secondary education in Saint Louis. With an increasing number of alumni from Saint Louis University High School and with their increased presence in the wealthy suburbs, creating De Smet seemed like a natural development. When the school opened in 1968 the Jesuits held an open house for 1,500 people. The Jesuits reported in their province newsletter how “we were all a little surprised at the large number of people who were interested in the school; however, by this time, we should not be since it is something that regularly happens, to our great satisfaction.”¹¹⁵ The Detroit province built Saint John and Walsh High Schools for much of the same reasons as De Smet. Demand was great and alumni expanded out of the city. The expansion was likened to William Leach’s description of corporate America’s growth. In the past, Jesuit schools, like American businesses, were “small-scale and low volume and strove for success through product differentiation or by manufacturing a single unique product ... The newer corporations cared little for differentiation, everything about high volume, full capacity production, and domination of mass markets.”¹¹⁶ The Detroit schools were produced like cookie cutters. The *JEQ* reported that “an interesting feature of these two schools is that

115. *Jesuit News-Letter* 27, no. 6 (March 1968), 94.

116. Leach, *Land of Desire*, 17 (see chap. 2, n. 2).

they are both being built on identical building plans. The twin high schools are planned to open with Freshmen classes in the Fall of 1965.”¹¹⁷

That Jesuit secondary schooling continued to grow struck Fichter as odd, who remarked, “One of the puzzling Jesuit educational phenomena of the 1960s—at least it was puzzling to me—was the continued expansion of the American Jesuit secondary system ... I am curious, rather than critical, of this multiplication of Jesuit high schools at a time when Jesuit personnel was not proportionately increasing and when serious questions were being raised by younger Jesuits about the concentration of manpower in the high school apostolate.”¹¹⁸ The High School Report forms reveal that despite the expansion of number of Jesuit high schools and the continued increase in overall enrollment, an increasing number of schools reported a decreased overall enrollment. This meant that the expansion communicated continued growth, yet the reality was that growth was dependent upon a increasing number of schools. Table 11 is a line graph of the number of high schools whose enrollment increased or decreased over five year increments.¹¹⁹ More schools have increasing enrollments until 1965. Table 12 depicts the same information, the difference is that percentages are displayed.¹²⁰ Table 13 reveals an increasing average enrollment per school, peaking in 1960 and then declining during the simultaneous expansion of the 1960s.¹²¹

117. Mangold, “Enrollment Statistics: 1964–1965,” *JEQ* 27, no. 3 (1965): 164.

118. Fichter, *Sociologist*, 213–14.

119. High School Forms, Boxes 16, 17, and 19.

120. *Ibid.*

121. *Ibid.*

Table 11: Enrollment Increases and Decreases Over Time

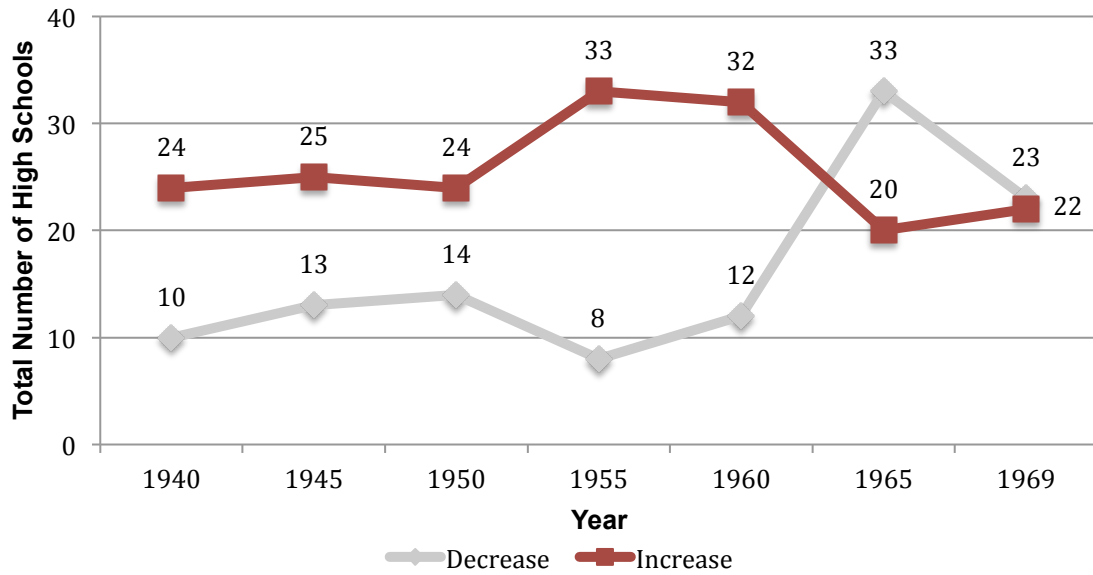
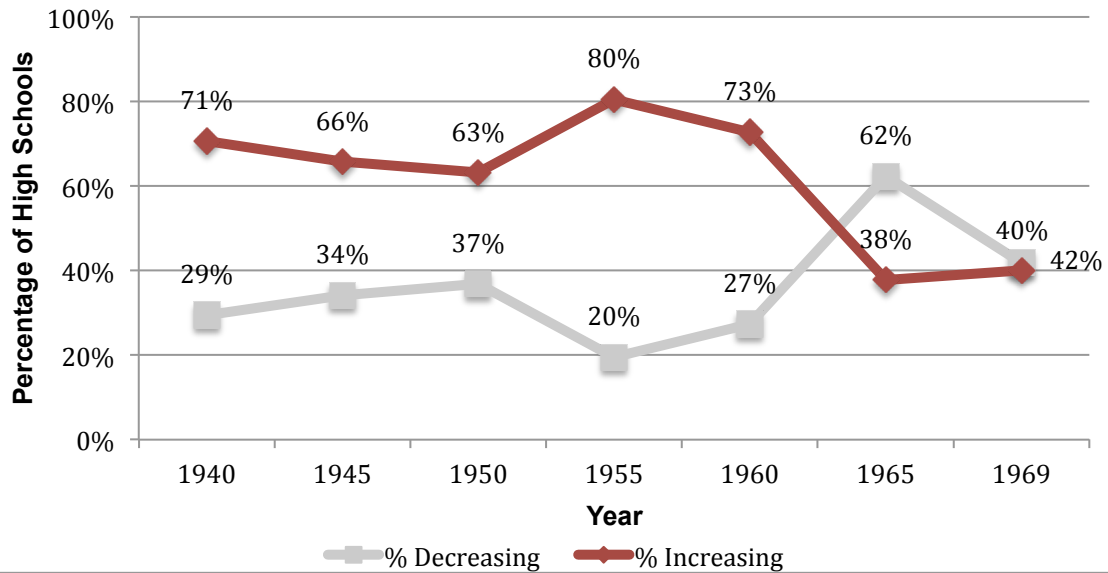
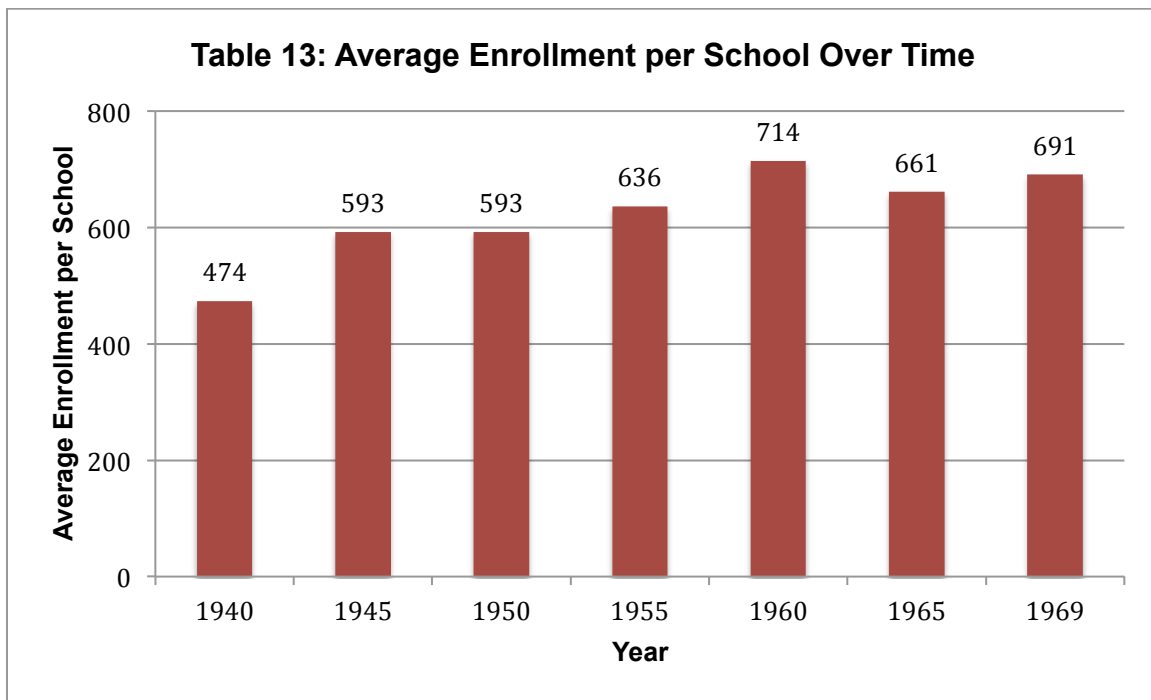


Table 12: Enrollment Increases / Decreases Over Time





In his assessment of the new data from his second survey, Fichter intended to offer an analysis of the schools by creating a ranking of them, a different use of the material from the 1965 survey. “I selected twenty-four items from the questionnaire and demonstrated the wide range of response from highest to lowest—without mentioning names—among the eleven provinces and among the high schools of one province.”¹²² In his work the JEA requested that Fichter protect the confidentiality and reputation of individual high schools. “I was willing to accept this principle, although I realize now that I was unaware how deeply sensitive the people at each high school were about their reputation vis-à-vis other Jesuit high schools” (224). To develop his rankings, he assessed responses regarding schools with “the friendliest faculty, were best in the teaching of religion, produced the best Christians, were judged most popular by the students” (226).

122. Fichter, *Sociologist*, 224.

Out of concern for potential negative publicity, Fichter did not name these schools in *Jesuit High Schools Revisited*, but archival sources provided them.¹²³ In a September 24, 1968 letter in response to Fichter in his description of this ranking, Paul Siegfried offered a response to the five schools that Fichter envisioned as the best in the United States: Saint Ignatius of Cleveland, Loyola of Townson, Maryland; Saint Louis University High School, Jesuit High School of New Orleans, and Regis High School of New York.¹²⁴ Siegfried observed common links among these schools. They had large enrollment, they were located in large cities, they were old and well-established, they were tradition-steeped, they ranked high in academic talent and achievement, and they were regarded highly by the public and their loyal alumni. Siegfried proposed that Regis be removed from this elite circle because it was so academically superior to all the other schools. He wondered if Loyola fit the category given its suburban location. He suggested that Fichter consider in replacement Saint Ignatius of Chicago, Saint Joseph of Philadelphia, Saint Ignatius of San Francisco, or Xavier of Cincinnati, even though Xavier too had recently relocated to the suburbs.¹²⁵

In its proposed ranking of weak schools, based on his findings Fichter wanted to include Kapaun of Wichita, Kansas; Chevrus of Portland, Maine; Cranwell of Lennox,

123. Ibid., 226. In his *Reminiscences*, Fichter revealed more rankings that he had hidden in footnotes for careful readers of his survey analysis. The five friendliest schools were Xavier of Cincinnati, Fordham, Portland Jesuit, Georgetown Prep, and Dallas Jesuit. The best schools for the teaching of religion were Gonzaga of Spokane, McQuaid of Rochester, NY, Jesuit Sacramento, Jesuit Tampa, and St. Louis University High School. The schools with the best ranking for Christian formation included McQuaid, Creighton Prep of Omaha, Marquette University High School of Milwaukee, Loyola of Missoula, MT, and St. Ignatius Cleveland. The schools that students said they would choose again because they were attractive were Jesuit New Orleans, Loyola of Towson, MD, Regis of New York, St. Ignatius Cleveland, and St. Louis University High School. The five schools with the wealthiest students were Campion of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, Cranwell of Lennox, MA, Georgetown Prep, Loyola Academy of Chicago, and Loyola High School of Manhattan. The poorest schools were Bellarmine of Tacoma, WA, Loyola High of Missoula, MT, St. Ignatius of Chicago, St. Peter of Jersey City, and Xavier High of New York.

124. Fichter to Siegfried (September 24, 1968), Box 27.

125. Ibid.

Massachusetts; Jesuit High of Shreveport, Louisiana; and Loyola School of Manhattan. Siegfried observed that these were all small schools located in small cities (the exception being Loyola in New York City). They did not have a high ranking for academic talent or achievement, they constituted a minority among Jesuit schools, they were relatively new with weak foundations, and they did not have strong ties with the local communities. Siegfried wanted to remove Cranwell and Loyola, “by reason of their high tuition and consequent characteristics,” and suggested that Brophy of Phoenix, McQuaid of Rochester, New York, and Jesuit High School of Sacramento be added to the list.¹²⁶

In his analysis of the second survey the principal theme was that “the anticipated development and renewal did not occur.”¹²⁷ It was disconcerting to discover two patterns in the second survey as it related to the 1966 investigation. “The first is that the quality of student behavior declines between freshman and seniors years. The second is that there has been a marked decline between the 1965 and 1968 surveys” (179).

In a letter to Paul Siegfried, Fichter admitted his dismay with his latest findings. “Maybe I was expecting too much too soon from the 1966 Workshop with all its determination, resolutions and recommendations ... If the schools had just ‘held their own’ I would be overjoyed and accept the excuse that three years are too short a time to measure change.”¹²⁸ Because of mounting duties at Harvard and because of the campus uprisings against the Vietnam War, Fichter preferred not to author the survey interpretation and analysis. He described to Siegfried how “the Harvard campus has been in turmoil for more than a week. We have been spending most of our time in meetings and consultations and

126. Ibid.

127. Fichter, *Revisited*, 178.

128. Fichter to Siegfried, September 12, 1968, Box 27.

arguments in all parts of the University.”¹²⁹ Siegfried responded, “I have looked in vain for your face among the bearded ones in pictures of the Harvard Yard. Courage.”¹³⁰ As Siegfried persisted in his request it was with reluctance that Fichter eventually agreed to do the analysis, but he very much desired a different reaction to it. As he told Siegfried, “Somehow we’ve got to give them a jolt with the 1968 Report.”¹³¹ His strategy was to emphasize the continued tension between the rhetoric and the reality of Jesuit secondary education. While the Los Angeles workshop produced a new rhetoric, notably through its widely-circulated promotional brochure, the reality had not changed. Specifically, Fichter disliked that the schools continued to promote a specific formational outcome in a Jesuit high school. “The large literature on Jesuit educational goals ... gives the impression that the system is designed to produce a certain type of student ... This is an imagined, or conceptual, construct of a category that probably cannot exist in the concrete world of human beings.”¹³² He had rather the schools acknowledge the diversity among Jesuit graduates, which would “not mean that the system completely fails to work, or that its goals are completely unrealistic. It indicates simply that the philosophy and procedures of Jesuit secondary education need continuous re-examination. Whether the re-examination results only in some minimal tinkering, or in a total overhaul, the findings of future surveys will probably still show that the schools produce both nuclear and dormant Christians, devout and tepid students, generous and selfish persons, progressives and conservatives, loyalists and rebels” (154-55).

129. Ibid., April 12, 1969.

130. Siegfried to Fichter, April 25, 1969.

131. Fichter to Siegfried, August 2, 1968.

132. Fichter, *Revisited*, 154.

While the workshop created a rhetoric of concern for the poor, it was regrettable in Fichter's eyes that the Jesuit high school in America continued to foster an increasing elite formation of "what might be called the Catholic bourgeoisie. What we have clearly demonstrated in these surveys is that attendance at a Jesuit high school promotes and reinforces the social attitudes of this class of people" (184). He observed how "poor boys are hardly visible among the students of these Jesuit high schools" despite the fact that at the 1966 workshop "one of the resolutions was that the schools should try to improve the 'mix' of their student bodies" (16). Yet he was willing to admit how the "'bourgeois mentality' is not necessarily pejorative in all aspects. What we are suggesting here is that the Jesuit high school tends to reinforce the attitudes that the upper-class students bring with them into the school, and tends to influence the lower-class students to the acceptance of a similar bourgeois mentality" (135). For example, he detected that his findings revealed how "it is laudable that better-educated upper-class people look favorably upon the improvement of American racial relations" (146). Yet, "upper class people can be more favorable because they are not personally involved or threatened by the racial problem. There is little probability that a black family will move in next door to them" (139).

Fichter continued to voice concern over the declining religious identity of the Jesuit high schools. "There does indeed exist a measurable Christianizing influence in the Jesuit high schools. Unfortunately it affects only a minority of the students, and that minority decreased between the surveys of 1965 and 1968. There ought to be genuine concern about reversing this trend" (181). He reminded his readers that religious instruction, "in the eyes of students, teachers and parents, this is what makes the difference—or is supposed to"

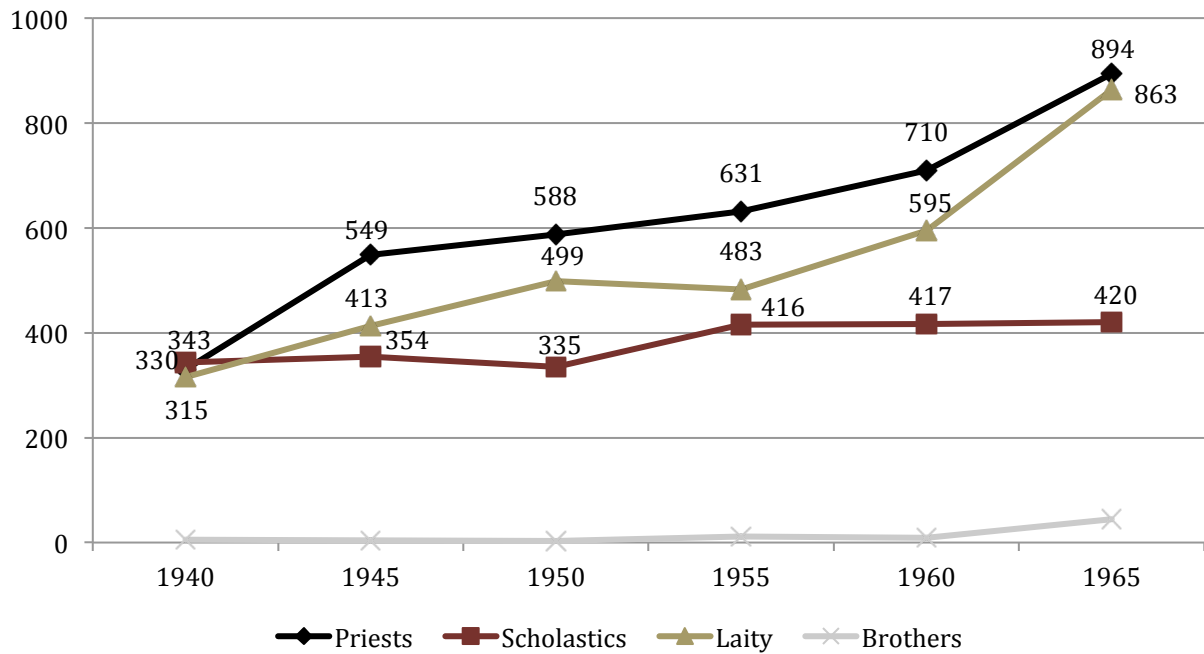
(66). Sadly, in Fichter's eyes, for a Jesuit high school to continue to make this claim was "completely erroneous ... The same shocking disclosure was made in the 1965 study of the Jesuit high schools. We had expected—perhaps simplistically—that every school in the system would be galvanized into a thorough reformation of the religion program" (67). The 1968 survey revealed however, "an evidence of failure ... the fact that four out of ten (41%) of the seniors say that their school had little or no influence in making them better Christians" (92). Perhaps with some sarcasm, Fichter revisited the insincerity of the school rhetoric, when he noted that these results "must obviously be a disappointment ... especially to those Jesuits who have philosophized so eloquently about the central influence of the religion course in the Jesuit high school system" (84-85). When he compared their religious home environment and the students' responses to questions on social issues, he concluded "that it really makes no difference whether a senior student comes from a home where both parents are Catholic or from a home in which only one parent is Catholic ... the cultural environment is more compelling than the religious environment in the formation of social values and attitudes. The socio-economic status of the family makes a demonstrable difference in these attitudes; the fact that the boy comes from a 'good' Catholic family does not" (148). The evidence increasingly suggested that "the Jesuit secondary system is more successful in strengthening the character of students than in making Christians out of them. What shows up clearly in the survey is that a student cannot be a good Christian without having love of God, but that a student can have a strong character without being a good Christian. In essence then the high schools are succeeding admirably in promoting a secular vision of character formation ... This is a key

question that must be troublesome to all religious educators” (181-82). He wondered if this evidence suggested that “the time has come to demythologize the religious ideology of Jesuit education and to re-assess the whole concept of the impact of religion on character training” (182).

Finally, he considered the continued decline in the status within the schools of the Jesuits themselves. Fichter noted that the results suggested that the idea of a Jesuit high school as a “community of face-to-face relations is another myth” distinct from the reality of overemphasis on faculty professionalism, which made them “aloof and impersonal in their relations with students” (186). The students’ assessment of faculty influence in their lives revealed how “laymen, scholastics and priests have a differential influence on their students” and that the priestly influence continued to decline while the others grew (60). While “it appears that these institutions are becoming increasingly laicized” (185-86). Fichter predicted that “an increasing number of lay faculty will significantly change the current ‘typicality’ of the Jesuit secondary schools,” and the data suggested that students who favored lay teachers more than the Jesuit priests and scholastics “are more negative than others on the matter of Mass, Communion and the liturgy” (61). Because “the typical image of the Jesuit high school has already been altered,” he wondered whether the Jesuits were reaching “a point in time in American Catholicism when the Jesuits prepare to withdraw from the high schools and turn them over to lay administrators and teachers” (186). Tables 14 and 15 demonstrate the changing makeup of the faculty and staff of American Jesuit high schools according to the data accumulated from the High School

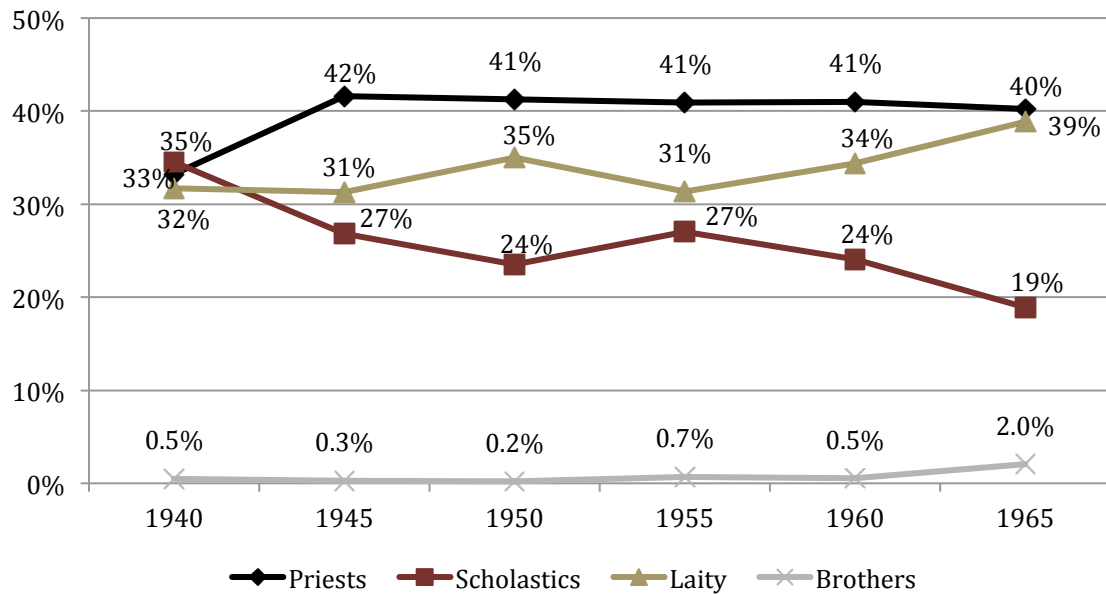
Forms.¹³³ The first chart displays the totals in terms of numbers and the second presents the data in percentages.

Table 14: Number of Priests, Scholastics and Laity



133. High School Forms, Boxes 16, 17, and 19.

Table 15: Percentage of Positions Reported by Year



The results of the second survey revealed how in the Jesuit high school there was very little to the greater American “social revolution” that was occurring. Fichter wondered, “Do the faculties of Jesuit high schools maintain a Christian social philosophy that is at odds, at least in some respects, with the bourgeois mentality? Secondly, are these teachers able—and do they have the intention—to offset the non-Christian aspects of the bourgeois mentality of their students? ... The Jesuit secondary system is here faced with one of its most difficult problems” (184). “As long as the system is geared to the aspirations of upper-middle class Catholic families it cannot be expected to focus on the educational needs of lower-class boys” (185).

It was the intention of the JEA to survey the alumni of Jesuit high schools—the final component of this reassessment of the Jesuit secondary schools. The association arranged for the survey’s commissioning and recruited Robert McNamara, a sociologist at Fordham

University. The survey was distributed and collected, but never analyzed. This was for two reasons. First, Fichter observed an overuse of sociological surveying in the Society in the 1960s. “American Jesuits have been on a splurge of data collection. Dozens of questionnaires have been designed, and thousands have been distributed, to investigate practically every phase of Jesuit activity. Collectors of data have proliferated; analysts of data are scarce.”¹³⁴ He saw how “the multiplication of surveys surfeited the Jesuit respondents, and the mass of statistical tables apparently overwhelmed the men who sent out the questionnaires. The crucial task of interpretive analysis was performed amateurishly—when it was done at all.”¹³⁵ Second, it was likely that the Jesuits had heard enough about the problems with their high schools. In fact, the final two volumes of the *JEQ* say nothing of a single Jesuit high school—the content is exclusively material for the colleges and universities. It was time for a change.

134. Fichter, *Sociologist*, 229.

135. *Ibid.*, 211.

Chapter 5

Jesuit Identity and the Emergence of the JSEA

In his 1968 study of Max Weber, sociologist Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt discussed the relationship between charisma and institution building, especially Weber's interest in the "continuous tension between what may be called the constrictive and the creative aspects of institutions and of social organization."¹ Eisenstadt's was a work circulating among some secondary school Jesuits in America near the founding of the Jesuit Secondary Education Association (JSEA). He recognized that "the possibility of creativity and freedom does not exist outside the institutional framework" (xvii). Creativity and freedom are found in "institution building and—paradoxically enough—very often in the process of destruction of institutions" (xvii). Creativity "by its very nature and orientation tends to undermine and destroy existing institutions and to burst the limits set by them" (xx).

The creation of the JSEA as an institution revealed charisma in the founding document called the Preamble and in the schools to which the document spoke. Stylistically, the document was very much of its time, likened to what John O'Malley observes regarding the particular style of Vatican II documents. In the council's deliberations, "style was ... an explicit and important issue."² The genre engaged in the council's writings "is the panegyric, that is, the painting of an idealized portrait in order to excite admiration and appropriation" (74). By adopting this form, the council strove not to prove points, but "to touch hearts and move hearers to actions for their fellow human

1. Max Weber, *Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building*, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), xvii.

2. John O'Malley, David G. Schultenover, and Stephen Schloesser, *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 73.

beings” (74). This produced a capacity “to heighten appreciation for a person, an event, an institution, and to excite emulation of an ideal” (76). These same stylistic attributes relate easily to the JSEA’s *Preamble, Constitution*, and later *The Jesuit High School of the Future*. In their desire to renew secondary education in America, Jesuits developed a charismatic style that they hoped would spur schools to pursue the thrust of innovation presented by the JSEA. This chapter explores the association’s emergence and the accompanying tensions that deepened within the Society of Jesus. Specific tensions the chapter addresses include the deliberations over Jesuit identity for both institutions and the Jesuits themselves that resulted as the Society activated this “charismatic fervor” in its “attempt to come into contact with the very essence of being, to go to the very roots of existence.”³ It then examines Pedro Arrupe’s promotion of the social apostolate in the context of the high schools, considering the employment of the preferential option for the poor and the resulting alienation that existed between the generations of American Jesuits. Finally, the chapter introduces the foundational movements of the JSEA by exploring the critical voices which encouraged caution and greater discernment after the initial fervor surrounding the JSEA dissipated. As Eisenstadt observes, “once an innovation is accepted it may as a result become routine, ‘deflated.’”⁴ Maintaining the enthusiasm proved challenging, as described by Saint Louis University historian James Hitchcock. “Besides the extreme personal and social stresses this has produced, there has been a relentless squandering of creative

3. Weber, *On Charisma*, xix.

4. *Ibid.*, xvii.

resources which parallels the squandering of physical resources ... Dreams, ideas and movements which should have nourished several decades have been sucked dry.”⁵

Identity and the Beginning of Jesuit Branding

In his consideration of Catholic identity and higher education in America, historian Philip Gleason considers how “the most striking thing about the Catholic identity issue in the 1940s and 1950s is that it didn’t exist.”⁶ Gleason holds that “it was the clarity of Catholic religious belief in the 1940s ... that made the Catholic identity ... a taken-for-granted given” (18). Catholic institutions “*had* that identity, *were* Catholic, and made no bones about *professing* their Catholicity. What didn’t exist was the ‘problem’ of Catholic identity. That didn’t exist because the Catholicity of the institution was so much of a given—seemed so obviously a fact of nature—that no one regarded it as a problem” (9). While Gleason directs his argument to Catholic institutions in general, his observation is particularly insightful to the specific conversations occurring within the Society of Jesus regarding their schools in America during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The problem of Jesuit identity arose because it was “an inheritance of the past, and in the postconciliar climate that made it an *ipso facto* candidate for change. How could it remain a taken-for-granted assumption—an unselfconsciously held and therefore unexamined given—when everything else in Catholic belief and practice was being scrutinized, challenged to justify itself, reinterpreted, modified, or even rejected?” (17). For the Jesuit high schools in the United States, the main catalyst for change centered upon the establishment of the JSEA

5. James Hitchcock, “What Really Happened in the 1960’s?,” *America Magazine* 124, no. 17 (May 1, 1971): 452.

6. Philip Gleason, “What Made Catholic Identity a Problem?,” Marianist Award lecture, University of Dayton, Dayton, OH, 1994, 9.

and what emerged within its leadership as almost an obsession with what its members termed innovation and thrust, revealed primarily through the new organization's *Preamble*, a document whose very name symbolized the spirit of new freedom and independence.

While the Jesuit colleges and universities engaged in very serious conversations regarding Jesuit identity, the high schools initially took the position of passive observer. Jesuit high schools were smaller institutions and provincial governance could still exert authority over them, unlike the ever-expanding Jesuit higher education. However, high school administrators soon were carefully studying what their fellow Jesuits were doing at the colleges, and members of the secondary commission of the JEA began to acknowledge how “many things planned for the colleges and universities have meaning for the high schools also.”⁷ In August 1969 the colleges and universities held a national workshop at Regis College in Denver to which two observers from the high schools were invited. That the high schools were included signified the historical remnant of an ongoing relationship between the two. It was at this meeting that Jesuits began what would become a long-term discussion about the complicated factors surrounding the Jesuit identity of institutions, for the Jesuit schools were experiencing precisely what Gleason described for Catholic institutions in general. They realized that being Jesuit “in the future could not be exactly what it had been in the past ... because the self-understanding of the Church as whole had been transformed by the Council, and because on-going changes in Catholic [and Jesuit] higher education itself had reached a tipping point.”⁸ The diminishment in Jesuit

7. Meeting of the Secondary Commission of JEA, April 14, 1968, San Francisco 1968 Meeting Folder, Box 10, 1 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Secondary Commission, San Francisco).

8. Gleason, “Catholic Identity?,” 17.

manpower, institutional expansion, and the emergence of professional lay educators precipitated this new problem for the high schools, too.

The delegates in Denver recommended that the Society's governance first determine and then promulgate "distinctive characteristics, the presence of which would justify the Society in designating a college or university as Jesuit."⁹ Immediately, there were differing opinions as to how this distinction would be manifested. For example, J. Donald Monan, then the Jesuit dean of LeMoyne College in Syracuse, observed how "one cannot define Jesuit education by counting the number of Roman collars or the number of ties. Much more critical is its mode, its style ..."¹⁰ Conversely, James Blumeyer, the Jesuit chaplain at Rockhurst College in Kansas City, held the position that Jesuit distinction, what made an institution Jesuit, "is going to have to come through contact with a lot of Jesuits ... You must come into contact with people who are committed to the ideals ..."¹¹ The conversations about identity became both complicated and peculiar as Jesuits themselves struggled to understand the distinction. For example, the JEA coordinating committee held that it was Jesuit presence that would affect a school's Jesuit character, for "unless Jesuits bring Jesuitness to the institution, it will not be Jesuit, no matter how many Jesuits are there ... Jesuit character does not mean Jesuit ownership nor a specific number

9. Minutes of the JEA Coordinating Committee, Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, DC, September 20–21, 1969, JEA Coordinating Committee Minutes Folder, Box 10, 5 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Coordinating Committee, DC).

10. JEA, *Guidelines for Jesuit Higher Education: The Consensus Statements, Recommendations, and Committee Reports of the J.E.A. Denver Workshop on Jesuit Universities and Colleges* (hereafter cited as *Denver Workshop*), ed. Eugene E. Grolimes, S.J., Regis College, Denver, Colorado, August 6–14, 1969, 29.

11. *Ibid.*, 27.

or percentage of Jesuits, nor any one pattern of courses. Jesuit means people sharing the Ignatius vision of secular mysticism—including laymen, including non-Catholics, etc.”¹²

The provincials agreed with the delegates’ recommendations, and representing their favorable opinion, Missouri provincial Gerald Sheahan suggested that future dealings be the responsibility of a new distinct organization just for higher education, which would serve as “a voluntary accrediting association, with the accreditation being the right to use the Jesuit name. We would prefer that the criteria or norms for judging the ‘Jesuitness’ of our Colleges be both written and enforced by members of the Association” (6). That the provincials distanced themselves from the authority of establishing such criteria and that they named ‘Jesuitness’ as something separate from the Jesuits themselves is of great significance because of its implication for institutional identity, for never before had such a distinction been made between Jesuits and the Jesuitness of the schools been considered. Like the provincials, the province directors of education also affirmed the workshop deliberations regarding the formation of a new organization for Jesuit higher education, the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities. In a nod to the high school observers to develop in similar fashion they let it be known how they “also urge the high schools to form an Association of Jesuit Secondary Schools,” a directive the high schools were quick to embrace.¹³

The earliest recorded deliberations regarding the issue of Jesuit identity in the high schools occurred less than a month later, at the September 4, 1967 meeting of the JEA

12. Minutes, Coordinating Committee, *ibid.*, 7.

13. Minutes of the Meeting of Commission of Province Directors of Education, Chicago, September 16–18, 1969, JEA Collection, Burns Library, Province Directors of Education Minutes Folder, Box 10, 3 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Province Directors, Chicago).

commission of province directors of education at the College Jean de Brebeuf in Montreal. Joseph T. Brown of the New York Province recorded the commission's discussions regarding the question of Jesuit identity faced by high schools if they followed the example of the colleges and universities in seeking the separate incorporation of the Jesuit community. The commissioners concluded that doing so would produce a very different Jesuit identity for the schools, one that diminished the Society's capacity to govern the institutions directly. "It must be remembered that once the legal separation of the two corporations takes place, not even a General Congregation will be able to tell a school what it can or cannot do. This becomes the prerogative of the Trustees. Hence, the school no longer is a Jesuit school in the sense we have known to now."¹⁴

Suggesting a distinction be made between the Jesuit and Catholic aspect of the school, the directors noted how in the "day to day operation, the Catholicity of the school is in the hands of its faculty."¹⁵ This implied that maintenance of the Jesuitness of the school would be in the hands of the Jesuits. For example, in the New York province a special committee on secondary education was established in 1968 to make recommendations to the provincial about how the New York high schools should proceed. Among their recommendations, the committee members emphasized the importance of preserving Jesuit distinction and their firm conviction that the need for Jesuit presence was critical for this identity to be realized. They believed it to be the schools' responsibility to

14. Meeting of the JEA Commission of Province Directors of Education, College Jean de Brebeuf, Montreal, September 4, 1967, Burns Library, Province Directors of Education Minutes Folder, Box 10, 10 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Province Directors, Montreal).

15. Ibid.

facilitate this presence. “The recruitment of Jesuits: this process is critical. The meaning given to ‘Jesuit presence’ ... at least presumes Jesuits present to carry it out.”¹⁶

Despite this early emphasis on distinction through Jesuit presence, Jesuit administrators were increasingly concerned about promoting equality among Jesuits and laity in the high schools and thus began what would become an ongoing debate considering the relationship between Jesuitness and laity. Questions of employment served as a starting point. At their 1968 meeting in San Francisco, the secondary commission asked its members to consider whether “Jesuit teachers, administrators, and counselors, etc., be subject to the same conditions as laymen in being hired, dismissed or retired.”¹⁷

Slightly delayed but in many ways similar to the colleges and universities, the prominence of formal province administrative involvement within the high school diminished gradually. The province directors of education themselves acknowledged how across the country there was increasing confusion about their role in relationship to the schools, noting too how their position was further confused because it differed significantly by province. “The general impression is that the role is evolving into that of Jesuit personnel direction for high schools and colleges and universities. The amount of direct control exercised by the Province Director ... is steadily diminishing to the vanishing point.”¹⁸ Joseph Duffy, the principal of Boston College High School and the secretary of the JEA commission on secondary schools, described in the minutes of the 1969 annual meeting how “the Province Director is coming to be looked upon as one who is directing a

16. Report of the Special Committee on Secondary Education Following the Morristown Conference, Shrub Oak, NY, June 20–23, 1968 (hereafter cited as Shrub Oak), Burns Library, Box 10, 16. [Emphasis in the original and all emphasis remaining.]

17. Minutes, Secondary Commission, San Francisco, April 14, 1968, Burns Library, San Francisco 1968 Meeting Folder, Box 10, 1.

18. Minutes, Province Directors, Chicago, Box 10, 2.

‘living endowment’ of Jesuits.”¹⁹ Provincial governance “exercised control by controlling Jesuit manpower in the institutions,” upon which the high schools were decidedly dependent for Jesuit identity.²⁰ In other words, a school’s “Jesuitness” was dependent upon not merely the Jesuits who would be present within the school but perhaps more importantly upon the provincial who as the broker of Jesuit availability, would “offer additional Jesuit manpower to a ‘Jesuit’ institution only as long as it continued to maintain ‘accreditation.’”²¹ Commission secretary John F. Keating wrote that Sheahan’s view was increasingly businesslike, in that “the provincials see themselves as quasi-directors of a quasi-foundation with resources of Jesuit manpower which they distribute to those institutions which continue to be Jesuit both in name and in character.”²²

The institutional Jesuitness of high schools became further complicated by the increased difficulty of attracting Jesuits to work in them, some of whom found high school work unsatisfying and labor intensive. Acknowledging this challenge, the directors of education described an increasingly stark reality for school survival because increasingly, “the future of our high schools depends on whether Jesuits ... want to commit themselves to this apostolate.”²³ John W. Kelly, the New York province director, predicted that “Jesuit secondary education would probably come to an end within the next two decades” because of the growing “lack of influence exercised by the religious in these schools because of their

19. Minutes, Commission on Secondary Schools, University of Detroit, April 5-7, 1969) (hereafter cited as Minutes, Secondary Schools, Detroit), Burns Library, Secondary Schools Minutes Folder, Box 24, 12.

20. Minutes, Province Directors, Chicago, Box 21, III-50.

21. Minutes, JEA Coordinating Committee, Washington, DC, Statler Hilton Hotel, September 20-21, 1969, Burns Library, JEA Coordinating Committee Minutes Folder, Box 10, 6.

22. Minutes, JEA Commission on Secondary Schools, New Orleans, Fontainebleau Motor Hotel, December 5-8, 1969 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Secondary Schools, New Orleans), Burns Library, Secondary Schools Minutes Folder, Box 24, (2).

23. Minutes, Province Directors, Chicago, Box 10, 4.

limited number” (4). In Kelly’s opinion, a Jesuit school without Jesuits was not a viable ministry of the Society of Jesus; without the influence of committed Jesuits physically present at the schools, Jesuit high schools would cease to exist. Other directors disagreed slightly with the soberness of Kelly’s prediction while acknowledging how diminishing manpower meant at the very least “the number of Jesuit schools will have to be reduced. If a reduction is not made, it is quite conceivable that all the schools in a given province would reach a state of crisis that would lead to collapse” (5). There was unanimity in recognizing that a Jesuit school without Jesuits was simply not a Jesuit school.

Each province began processes to investigate possible solutions for what was now regarded as the high school problem. For example, James C. Carter, the New Orleans province director of education, assembled a workshop for both Jesuits and laity to study the plans already under consideration by the other American high schools. By understanding the other provinces’ proceedings, Carter hoped that the New Orleans schools could make the best decision for their future regarding Jesuit identity. He considered how the New York Jesuits were “determined to strengthen the faculty and administration by building up as effectively as possible the Jesuit presence” through Jesuit manpower,²⁴ and contrasted that with the assessment of Joe Sullivan, the Chicago Province director of education, who asked of those schools a “question which may well serve as stimuli in our task force assignments ... Can there be Jesuit high schools in view of diminishing Jesuit teachers?”²⁵

24. Carter Specific Plans, Burns Library, New Orleans Province Workshop 1969 Folder, Box 10, 2.

25. Ibid., 3.

At the same time, Pedro Arrupe's position regarding the Jesuit identity of the worldwide network of schools was evolving. In 1970 as he addressed the Jesuits at England's Heythrop College he maintained Jesuits "can say with real truth that the Society can have a greater apostolic *elan* and be more Ignatian than was possible in the time of St. Ignatius himself. All this is true but it requires a great deal of prayer, thought and energy."²⁶ It was a nod toward greater emphasis on identity with decreased Jesuit manpower. In a 1980 address regarding global Jesuit secondary education he considered specifically the issue of institutional Jesuit identity, describing it as "Ignatian." While "there are many ways in which it will resemble other schools," he said, "an authentic Jesuit school ... flows out of the strengths drawn from our own specific charism, if we emphasize our essential characteristics and our basic options—then the education which our students receive should give them a certain 'Ignacianidad,' if I can use such a term."²⁷ While refraining from clearly defining the particular characteristics and options for schools, he was quite specific about what was neither optional nor characteristic of Jesuit institutional identity. "I am not talking about arrogance or snobbery, still less about a superiority complex. I simply refer to the logical consequence of the fact that we live and operate out of our own charism" (62). In the eyes of Arrupe, it was religious identity flowing from the spiritual impact of the founder, Ignatius Loyola, that made Jesuit schools distinctly Jesuit.

Part of the identity question centered upon how best to use Jesuit manpower within the schools. Arrupe noted how "in former times, it was possible to find a

26. Pedro Arrupe, S.J., *The Message of Father General to the English Province, Heythrop, January, 1970* (hereafter cited as *English Province*) (Jersey City, NJ: Program to Adapt the Spiritual Exercises, 1970), 16.

27. Arrupe, "Our Secondary Schools Today and Tomorrow: Concluding Address to the Participants of a Meeting on Secondary Education" (hereafter cited as "Concluding Address"), September 13, 1980, *Other Apostolates Today: Selected Letters and Addresses—III*, ed. Jerome Aixala (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1981), 61–62.

community of fifty Jesuits engaged in the education of two or three hundred students—in a boarding school for instance! Let us frankly admit that this was disproportionate; and if we look to the needs of today’s world, such attention would even be called unjust ... To maintain such a Jesuit-student ratio today would be a scandal in the Church. It is wrong to regret this situation of former days. Today we need multipliers, and that is what our lay collaborators are” (69). In response, provinces began to investigate how to economize manpower by placing Jesuits in key positions of leadership, which they hoped would magnify Jesuit identity through the multiplier effect that Arrupe described. This was especially true regarding the important institutional roles to be played by the rector and principal. At their September 1970 meeting in Chicago the commission clarified the rector’s responsibility in the high school. “The first responsibility of a Jesuit Rector is the temporal and spiritual welfare of his community. In practice, in our schools he has always had other responsibilities which tend to push this primary function into the background, namely, the academic quality and the financial viability of the school itself. Ideally, the good rector, after setting broad policy, has delegated the total responsibility for the academic to the Principal and his subordinates.”²⁸ Gradually, the rector’s responsibilities for the external, public duties for the high school diminished and what emerged in place of the rector in the external forum was a new, more professional Jesuit role, one which would “devote a major proportion of his time to this enterprise” of fundraising and relating the Jesuit identity of the institution: the high school presidency.²⁹ In announcing the Maryland Province’s experiment with the separation of the rector and president at Saint Joseph’s

28. Minutes, Province Directors, Chicago, Box 21, III-49.

29. Ibid.

Preparatory in Philadelphia, B. J. Dooley, the director of secondary education, described how “the relationship of the Rector and President supposes the distinction between the institution as a Jesuit community and as an academic enterprise, in such wise that neither superior is total subordinate to or depend upon the other, but each is, at the local level, distinctly responsible for the respective function under his authority.”³⁰ The creation of the presidency was the beginning of the movement to address the challenges of internal and external Jesuit identity. The next step was the creation of the JSEA, which would concern itself with the problems of “Jesuitness” in the high schools, beginning with a divisive debate about who the schools were called to serve.

The Social Apostolate’s Preferential Option and the Generational Divide

Perhaps there has been no greater division in the Society of Jesus than the tension surrounding the place of prominence given to the Jesuits’ involvement in the social apostolate, work that involved implementation of a preferential option for the poor in order to further the pursuit of social justice. Jesuit historian John Padberg described how the option for the poor and its insertion “into the life of the Society have occasioned much discussion, equal heat, and some light.”³¹ This quest motivated Jesuits who maintained that its pursuit liberated their schools from being abused as means to social advancement into the elite level of society. It likewise alienated Jesuits who saw its pursuit as an abrupt

30. Memorandum by B. J. Dooley, S.J., to Province Directors of Secondary Education, August 16, 1967, Burns Library, Saint Joseph’s Preparatory School Folder, Box 21.

31. John Padberg, S.J., foreword to “The Disturbing Subject: The Option for the Poor” (hereafter cited as “Disturbing Subject”), *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 21, no. 2 (March 1989) (hereafter cited as *Spirituality*), 1.

interruption to the ongoing project of creating the influential Catholic *insigne* whom they believed would bear great fruit for the future Jesuit missions in America.

Contributing to the confused interpretation of the term “preferential option for the poor” itself. It could be all-encompassing, as Catholic theologian Dennis P. McCann described it: “a fitting expression of the mainstream tradition of Catholic social teaching.”³² Similarly for Catholic theologian Gerald S. Twomey it was a tightly-packed, “apt metaphor to focus attention on the official teaching of the Church as a defense of the poor and powerless in society and an encouragement to them in the struggle for justice.”³³ Ambiguity resulted in how to interpret its practicality and force within real circumstances, however, as Catholics struggled to discern how it “mediates between the religious vision of the community and its practical consequences for public morality and social policy.”³⁴ Sometimes that mediation led to fierce communal division within Catholic institutions, where strong disagreement existed between “how it ought to be interpreted and implemented pastorally” and whether its application was apropos for all contexts.³⁵ Its roots stemmed from elsewhere, as noted by Jean-Yves Calvez, Jesuit professor at the Institute of Higher Studies in Paris. “For the entire Church, the preferential option for the poor, originating more remotely in the Second Vatican Council, came into prominence through the activity of the Latin American Church, notably through bishops conferences there.”³⁶ Jesuit Alfred Hennelly declared that the “Latin American Church made the most

32. Dennis P. McCann, “Option for the Poor: Rethinking a Catholic Tradition” (hereafter cited as “Option for the Poor”), in *The Preferential Option for the Poor*, eds. Max L. Stackhouse and Richard John Neuhaus (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1988), 36.

33. Twomey, *The “Preferential Option for the Poor” in Catholic Social Thought from John XIII to John Paul II* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 23.

34. McCann, “Option for the Poor,” 44.

35. *Ibid.*, 36.

36. Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J., “Disturbing Subject,” 22.

important decision in its entire history ... when it turned away from what had been its major commitment to the wealthy classes in order to embrace the cause of the poor.”³⁷

Despite its particular roots, this quest for social justice gained an American identity. It translated easily into the liberation movements of the 1960s and the laboratory for experimentation with the preferential option found a home especially in Catholic schools. Monsignor James C. Donohue, the director of the department of education at the United States Catholic Conference, the organization charged with responsibility for American Catholic works, described what he saw as the growing responsibility of Catholic schooling in the late 1960s. They were to “devote *their own present resources*” for “radically altering the present priorities within Catholic education.”³⁸ That meant it was “time for brave, prophetic action on behalf of the poor and the oppressed. Only the timid and the faithless fear crises.”³⁹ One example of the response to that call for action was demonstrated in *America Magazine* in its coverage of the Immaculate Heart of Mary sisters’ resignation from St. Raymond’s Elementary School in Detroit. The Jesuit editors wondered if it was “the beginning of a new exodus from a system that had been lulled into prolonging social injustice.”⁴⁰ The editors declared the sisters’ resignation as “right in holding that a shame of our Catholic school system is that there is still so little [to] show for all the classroom lessons learned about social justice ... The urgency of the times requires new methods of teaching ... This is not the last time we will see the ‘dust-shaken-from-the-sandals’ method

37. Alfred T. Hennelly, S.J., “The Influence of Liberation Theology,” in *Born of the Poor: The Latin American Church Since Medellin*, ed. Edward Clearly, O.P. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 38.

38. James C. Donohue, “New Priorities in Catholic Education,” *America Magazine* 118, no. 15 (April 13, 1968): 478.

39. *Ibid.*, 479.

40. “Sisters Desert ‘Racist Institution,’” editorial, *America Magazine* 124, no. 8 (February 27, 1971), 194.

of teaching.”⁴¹ The editors presented the sisters as exercising a preferential option which revealed preference for work with young people other than those currently drawn to the school.

The Society of Jesus articulated its own early rendition of the option through the thirty-second General Congregation, in the form of emphasis upon “the promotion of justice and the pursuit of the integration of the service of faith with that promotion. It is from that choice that the obligation of solidarity with the poor derives.”⁴² Theologian John O’Brien saw that “the implications of such an option are enormous. They would include radically different priorities in the allocation of resources and personnel, an alternative decision-making process privileging the voiceless, and a training program for aspirant leaders and pastoral workers.”⁴³ Writing in 1979, Dominic Maruca, a Jesuit trained in spiritual theology, reflected upon the aftermath of that radical reordering, which produced “puzzlement and painful tensions. Vibrations can be felt in our recreation rooms as we sit behind our favorite newspaper or in our television rooms where we vie for our preferred newscaster. We sense it at table in our dining rooms and even as we gather around our altars.”⁴⁴ Maruca discussed specifically the strong disagreement over the Jesuits’ use of social affluence, “that surplus of power we have over space, time, and things after we have managed to meet our basic needs with modest sufficiency” (24). With its wealth of institutions, he rightly pointed to the Society having been entrusted with enormous power. That led, in his opinion, to a “disturbing and controversial question: What should be the

41. Ibid.

42. Calvez, “Disturbing Subject,” 1.

43. John O’Brien, *Theology and the Option for the Poor* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 6.

44. Dominic Maruca, S.J., “Our Personal Witness as a Power Toward Evangelizing Our Culture,” *Spirituality* 11, no. 2 (March 1979), 1.

authentic Christian and Jesuit posture towards the form of power provided by our affluence?” (29). The question would continue to fester for the answer remained elusive in the ongoing debate.

In 1966 one Jesuit accused the Jesuit high schools of being evasive in facing the issue of social justice. Patrick Hussey asked, “Did we not undertake the education of the sons of upper middle class families so that these young men would become leaders in exercising Christian influence on society? Are they doing so at present? ... Or have they merely helped to perpetuate a prejudice power structure that compassionate men despise? Should we continue to give them the exclusive benefit of our training if they have merely used their skills to spin cocoons of security?”⁴⁵ Not only was the students’ firm projection toward accumulated power being questioned; so was the Jesuits’ as evidenced by the New England province director of education, Joseph D. Devlin, who wondered if they were “really interested in teaching the poor in a Jesuit school as now structured,” and if not, perhaps because the schools were “too structured, too unimaginative, too bourgeois? Are Jesuits too satisfied with the status quo, with the ‘good’ life?”⁴⁶

Pedro Arrupe was an adamant supporter of the social apostolate, which he saw as a benefit flowing from the accumulation of affluence for the Society and its schools. In the *Woodstock Letters*, an American Jesuit publication considering education and mission work around the world, he highlighted his devotion to it, noting how it was his desire “to bless, from the bottom of my heart, all those Jesuits who have committed their energies and are

45. Patrick Hussey, S.J., “Evasive Education,” in “The Jesuit High School: An Evaluation” (hereafter cited as “Jesuit High School”), ed. Kenneth DeLuca, S.J., *Woodstock Letters* 95, no. 2 (1966): 221.

46. Minutes, Province Directors, Chicago, Box 10, 16.

continuing to spend themselves for this great cause of social justice.”⁴⁷ It was very much his desire to see the entire Society of Jesus more devoted to its cause, perhaps out of guilt from perceived historical neglect and failure. “If the Society ... plunges itself into the work of realizing a social order that is more just and equitable both in the distribution of goods and in responsible participation in social, economic, and political life, I hope that God our Lord will mercifully forgive our omissions and the scandal we have possibly given.”⁴⁸

For example, with some hesitation Arrupe confronted a major social justice concern he had for America in 1967, one that he recognized as “urgent and complicated. It is not easy to put in writing what I would like to say to you.”⁴⁹ For the Jesuit schools in America he wanted to see “increased efforts to encourage the enrollment of qualified Negroes, and the establishment of special programs to assist disadvantaged Negroes to meet admission standards; special scholarship funds and other financial assistance” (192). He desired the Jesuits “at this moment of desperate human need,” to inspire students “to labor, in co-operation with men of good will, as to make all phases of American institutions and practices an environment in which the human dignity and rights of all will be acknowledged, respected and protected” (184). It was a concern he believed would take generations to address completely, meaning that younger Jesuits need to be “thoroughly trained, from the novitiate onward, in the principles of social justice and charity” (192). He believed that the new spirit for the Society depended upon the spirit of its younger members, for “the Society is not worn out or tired or spent. Organizations do not follow

47. Arrupe, “Jesuits and Social Justice: A Common Consciousness of the Problematic,” *Woodstock Letters* 97, no. 1 (1968): 79.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Arrupe, “Jesuits and Racism, November 1, 1967” (hereafter cited as “Racism”), *Planet*, 183.

the biological law of senescence. The youth of its new members continuously brings to the Society a new vitality.”⁵⁰ Yet that youthfulness did grow weary, frustrated with the pressure of living up to this lofty expectation. For example, Alfred C. Kammer, S.J., a Yale Law School graduate writing in 1978 from the Atlanta Legal Aid Society, described the increasing fatigue Jesuit activists faced. “The activist concludes that no matter how much Jesuits ‘tinker’ with their present institutional commitments to facilitate the entry of some minority composed of the poor or disadvantaged, the Society’s weight is still cast overwhelmingly on the side of the well-off.”⁵¹

The Jesuits were entering a conversation already started by others—primarily nuns—about the tension between Catholic schooling and socioeconomics, often reflected through racial division. In an article submitted to *America Magazine* in 1970 titled, “I Teach in a Racist School,” Sister Patricia Flinn declared that merely by her participating in Catholic secondary education in America, “I am a racist—a semiconscious, uncomfortable one, but a racist just the same. I teach in a racist school, a typical Catholic high school in a fundamentally racist educational system.”⁵² She believed Catholic schools existed as a means for parents to “send their children to protect them from contact with blacks and race problems ... The exceptional kids would be exceptional anyway, without me. If I am really serious about being an American and a Christian, is this where I belong?”⁵³

50. Arrupe, “Letter of Father General to the Theologians of the American Assistancy,” Washington, DC, June 29, 1971, in *Talks and Writings*, 75.

51. Alfred C. Kammer, S.J., “‘Burn-Out’—Contemporary Dilemma for the Jesuit Social Activist,” *Spirituality* 10, no. 1 (January, 1978): 11.

52. Patricia Flinn, S.N.D. De.N., “I Teach in a Racist School,” *America Magazine* 123, no. 8 (September 26, 1970): 201.

53. *Ibid.*, 203.

When the JEA commission on secondary schools met to discuss Arrupe's call for development of the "interracial apostolate," they saw conceptually in the Jesuit high school especially, opportunity for institutions "to change the attitudes of the dominant white power structure towards the black community."⁵⁴ This meant establishing "a program to educate the white power structure ... in-service training of faculty (Jesuit and lay) to impart knowledge and understanding of Negro heritage and culture ... Re-education of parents ... Revision of present curricula to present our students an honest picture of our present national race problems."⁵⁵

The provinces began investigating the possibilities. Similar to the efforts of the others, the New York Province assembled a special committee on secondary education to make recommendations about the schools. The committee emphasized the value of programs like the interracial apostolate, which strove to introduce black students to Jesuit education, whether they were Catholic or not. It would facilitate social encounters for justice while acknowledging the need for a Jesuit school to "enable a boy to grow up with his peers," while never being "isolated from the problems of his time."⁵⁶ The members recommended that the schools should "rush in where angels fear to tread. Disturbing the structure of fifty- or hundred-year-old schools is tricky business, but somewhere a beginning must be made" (7). The New York Jesuits emphasized as their starting point the need to "go out and find the boys we want to come to us" (13) That meant that the prime source would be "ghetto elementary schools" and Jesuits were to "give much more of our efforts to the

54. Minutes, Commission on Secondary Schools, University of San Francisco, April 13-14, 1968, Burns Library, Secondary Schools Minutes Folder, Box 24, 12.

55. *Ibid.*, 14.

56. Shrub Oak, 5 (see n. 16).

education of the poor,” for “the most relevant issues today and for a long time to come are: poverty, race, and violence” (14).

In 1971 during his visit to America, Arrupe assessed this early effort of laboring on behalf of the social apostolate, observing with dissatisfaction how “there still remains an appreciable gap between the intentions publicly expressed and the reality of our apostolate.”⁵⁷ He accused the Society in America of having “failed in the promptitude and energy demanded by the gravity and urgency of the present situation” (25-26). It was his estimation that the cause was not “in the lack of directives but rather in a deficiency of religious spirit. We have withdrawn from the sources of our spirituality” (46). Jesuits had accumulated too many “fixed habits, attitudes and mentalities imperceptibly developed in the course of years and impossible to change overnight, rigidity in works and structures” (26). This led to resistance and countered what he believed emphatically, that Jesuits “have the inalienable duty of prophetically denouncing injustice” (40). This was a global concern for Arrupe. In 1980 at an international meeting in Rome for Jesuit secondary education, he reminded the participants that Jesuit high schools “are committed to educate any class of person, without distinction. It cannot be otherwise ... what is never admissible is any kind of exclusiveness. Obviously, this total openness is joined to the Society’s preferential option for the poor.”⁵⁸

The idea of such a preferential option was an example of the unimaginable and overwhelming volume of change experienced by Catholics in the 1960s. The contrast from the beginning to the end of the decade was striking. Robert Bosc, S.J., *America Magazine*

57. Arrupe, “The Social Commitment of the Society of Jesus,” Washington, DC, May 6, 1971, in *Talks and Writings*, 25.

58. Arrupe, “Concluding Address,” 60.

corresponding editor in Paris and professor of international relations at the Institut Catholique, recalled how “in 1960, parishes, schools, Catholic universities gave the impression of a well-oiled machine, functioning just about perfectly.”⁵⁹ The ensuing rapid breakdown, as Jesuit Raymond A. Baumhart wrote in the *Woodstock Letters*, captured the incredulity of the times. “Was there a seer among us who, a decade ago, envisioned nuns picketing around the country ... and who would have guessed that a Pope would offer Mass in Yankee stadium?”⁶⁰ Baumhart noticed how the changes affected him personally, along with the younger generation. “As bell-ringer at the novitiate, I recall ringing the house bell twenty-seven times each day. Now, some of our houses have no bells. Who would have thought that the Chicago province would one day purchase a Hilton Inn, thus providing the scholastics with private rooms that have air-conditioning, wall-to-wall carpeting, and music piped into the room?”⁶¹

Transformed customs and housing were symptoms of an overall outbreak of rapid change that deeply troubled the Society of Jesus, which was experienced primarily through generational division. Part of the particular tension within the Jesuit order flowed from experiencing simultaneously the overall transformation that permeated Catholicism in general. The Jesuits of *America Magazine* identified in a September 17, 1966 editorial “the main reason many young people now feel alienated from their religion—as well as from many values cherished by the older generation—may be that they have never fully grasped

59. Robert Bosc, S.J., “U.S. Catholicism Revisited,” *America Magazine* 121, no. 9 (September 27, 1969): 389.

60. Raymond A. Baumhart, S.J., “A Time of Change,” *Woodstock Letters* 96, no. 1 (1967): 85.

61. *Ibid.*, 86.

what Christianity is.”⁶² Despite this, the Jesuits had much hope in what they saw as a strong solution to this problem, maintaining that “the American Church possesses both the youth and the tradition, the resources and the imagination, to care about this problem and to face up to it.”⁶³ Yet this hope for the greater church was less forthcoming within the order as they considered how to solve the growing divide within the Jesuit community.

Curiously, as the Jesuits struggled to understand Jesuit identity as it related to the schools, a similar crisis of identity was occurring as they wrestled with the formative question of Jesuit identity as it applied to themselves and the formation of the young members. Jesuit William P. Bruton reflected upon the life of the modern scholastic seminarian, the “new breed” of Jesuit scholastics.⁶⁴ “It seems that the basic problem of the modern Jesuit scholastic is this: he is a marginal man and has the problems attendant on trying to satisfy the conflicting demands of significant others. Not only that, his position is made more difficult by the extreme changes which the world is going through and which have caused a breakdown of consensus in the whole Society” (293). Bruton believed that “tremendous social change going on now has forced the young Jesuit to ask about almost everything, ‘Is it relevant?’” (301). The crisis of identity was so pronounced that this very question being asked externally had currency for the internal as well. Increasingly, Jesuits seemed to be asking themselves, “Am I relevant?”

Within the high schools, the alienation of younger Jesuits was even more pronounced and of much greater concern to the fathers, for the scholastics were voting

62. “Today’s Rebellious Generation,” editorial, *America Magazine* 115, no. 12 (September 17, 1966): 271.

63. *Ibid.*

64. William P. Bruton, S.J., “The Jesuit Scholastic in the Light of Social Psychology,” *Woodstock Letters* 95, no. 3 (1966): 293.

with their feet, favoring individual over corporate identity. The JEA commission of province directors of education recognized that “our best scholastics by and large would never see regency in one of our schools,” an odd admission, given that recommended scholastic assignments would come through the directors themselves.⁶⁵ That the directors felt this lack of authority revealed the growing power the young Jesuits exercised in determining their missions in the Society, a prophecy of doom for the high schools. “This would mean that only the weak scholastics who obviously needed maturing would be in our schools. This would not only cause a morale problem for these scholastics themselves, but it would be disastrous for our schools. The Commission recognized the trend of our young men to move away from the institutionalized Jesuit apostolate and to build up individual apostolates.”⁶⁶ Younger Jesuits pursued these works because they often centered upon their own personal interests and concerns but they produced simultaneously a growing sense of individualism.

As the tension continued to fester, exasperated Jesuits of the JEA coordinating committee approached George Klubertanz, chairman of the committee on the regional order of studies, to create an *ad hoc* committee to discuss and suggest proposals for resolving “this problem of our younger Jesuits and the educational apostolate.”⁶⁷ In his findings among the specific reasons given for this disaffection, Klubertanz learned that the scholastics felt the Society was too committed to “certain immobile and fixed structures” that conflicted with their own desire for “mobility and flexibility in a world and a church

65. Minutes, Province Directors of Education, Montreal, 15.

66. Ibid.

67. “A Report on the Problem of Disaffection of Young Jesuits for our Current Educational Apostolate,” *Woodstock Letters* 98, no. 1 (1969): 114.

in process. We are over-committed in the number of our schools in such a way that these giant monsters eat up the individual Jesuit. With our limited resources of money and manpower, most of these schools can never rise above mediocrity” (114). However, the dominant reason given for their disillusionment was “the denigrating influence on them of older men in the Society. To the scholastic so many of our priests appear to be unhappy, unfulfilled, dissatisfied, unproductive. They seem to be lonely, embittered, frustrated, sour men ... Too many of the older fathers give the impression that they don’t like the young scholastics, they don’t want them around, they disapprove of their ‘crazy new notions.’ They talk as if the scholastics were destroying everything the older Jesuits have lived for” (116).

Robert D. Coursey described in the *Woodstock Letters* what he found to be the source of such disaffection among the Jesuits, but his observation wasn’t solely a generational phenomenon. It was first, institutional, in what some saw as the “mediocrity of the schools. The charge is frequently made that our schools are living on past achievements without knowledge, skills, time, money, or equipment for innovation.”⁶⁸ There was also political disaffection, in “the split Jesuit community of entrenched traditionalists versus transient rebels” (125). He noted in conclusion how an overly-idealistic formation process contributed to the resulting generational cynicism. “Considerable frustration is experienced by the young Jesuit because impossible demands are constantly made on him which he feels morally obliged to meet but he cannot. The persistent

68. Robert D. Coursey, S.J., “Schools, Jesuits, and Disaffection,” *Woodstock Letters* 98, no. 1 (1969): 124.

frustration of unfulfilled ideals both for the school and for himself can lead to considerable depression and discouragement” (126).

Pedro Arrupe was deeply concerned about the mounting divisions within the Society. It was his desire for every Jesuit to be contemporary, reflected in the Jesuit’s ability to demonstrate that he knew “how to read ‘the signs of the times,’ understands the message of history, and discerns in its light the actual call of God.”⁶⁹ Acknowledging the inconsistent outcome of Jesuits formed in this new identity, he pleaded for “a deep mutual understanding, a deep mutual charity and union.”⁷⁰ He tried to reassure them that regardless of their particular positions, “everyone has something to contribute to the Society today. There is a possibility for co-operation more than ever before. The Society needs every Jesuit, the learned and the not so learned, the conservative and the more progressive. No one is excluded” (12). Seeing especially the division within the Jesuits regarding their influential institutions, he was uncompromising in reassuring them that the continued need for schools was absolutely crucial for their apostolic identity and vitality. Jesuit availability and mobility did not mean “that we must not have institutions. In many cases an institution is necessary if the charism is to endure. But, equally, the structure must be animated by the charism and remain flexible to meet changing concrete needs” (26-27). Yet he refrained from providing any directives on how to navigate the complicated confluence of institutional life and the changes he expected, like implementation of the preferential option. Without this instruction, some Jesuits became frustrated with what they saw as stagnant institutions and began instead to develop individual social apostolates.

69. Arrupe, “The Social Commitment of the Society of Jesus” (hereafter cited as “Social Commitment”), May 6, 1971, in *Talks and Writings*, 28.

70. Arrupe, “English Province,” 11 (see n. 26).

The increasing polarization within the Society prompted the American Jesuits to organize an assistancy-wide study and conference in 1967 at Santa Clara University on the “total development of the Jesuit priest,” with the hope that it would produce common ground and eventually lead to a resolution regarding the identity question. In the early planning stages for the conference, committee members identified “problematic themes relative to Jesuit development today,” which included “uncertainty and fear about a role in the Society for ‘me,’” and “new stress on personal satisfaction and self-realization (self-fulfillment).”⁷¹ Of special significance in the planning stage was concern about how to address the deepening problem of “communication between different age groups in the Society.”⁷² After two years of extensive preparation, which included a survey and 900 pages of discussion papers for the 70 participants to read, the outcome was “a consensus paper titled, ‘A Fraternal Preamble,’ which called for courage and mutual acceptance during this period of radical change.”⁷³ It would prove a difficult pursuit, but there were signs along the way. For example, John P. Leary, S.J., the former president of Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington and current professor of philosophy at Utah State University, expressed his growing solidarity with the young. “Often I missed completely *what* they had to say. It was more satisfying to get rhetorical about their manners. And yet the voice of protest, disturbing as it has been, is telling us a great deal—if we will listen. It has been so demonstrably right in an age where it’s hard to be right or know what that means.”⁷⁴

71. Minutes, Planning Committee for an Assistancy Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest, Georgetown University, July 2-3, 1966; 1967 Assistancy Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest, Santa Clara, August 6-19, 1967, Burns Library, Folder, Box 10, 1.

72. *Ibid.*, 2.

73. C.J. McNaspy, S.J., “Tomorrow’s Jesuit,” *America Magazine* 117, no. 10 (September 2, 1967): 223.

74. John P. Leary, S.J., “Youth: The Voice of Prophecy,” *America Magazine* 121, no. 8 (September 20, 1969): 190.

The Formation of the JSEA

While the Santa Clara conference attempted to resolve the question of Jesuit priestly identity, the formation of the JSEA attempted to resolve the high school question. The creation of the Jesuit Secondary Education Association represents a curious process in the history of American Jesuit governance. It signifies the institutionalization of that which was simultaneously being decentralized. As sociologist Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt discussed institutions “constituted the arena in which freedom, creativity, and responsibility could become manifest. But they also imposed severe limitations and constrictions on such creativity.”⁷⁵

Early discussion regarding the idea of creating such an association occurred on the pages of the *Woodstock Letters*. As the discussion about the high schools waned in the *Jesuit Educational Quarterly*, it seemed to sprout in the pages of the *Woodstock Letters*. William J. Kerr, a Jesuit theology student, proposed in 1966 a national association that would serve the high schools as a “a pool of acquired know-how.”⁷⁶ Having just finished the high school teaching portion of his Jesuit training, Kerr observed firsthand how it was “increasingly evident that our schools, acting individually or on a province basis alone, often enough encounter problems they cannot solve on their own” (191). He predicted that a national consultative service would provide “real strength” because of “its constant contact with the secondary school scene” (195). There was early support at the administrative level, too. Robert R. Newton, S.J., the principal at New York’s Regis High School, observed that innovation at the high school level would be harmed “if all effective power to initiate or

75. Weber, *On Charisma*, xvi.

76. William J. Kerr, S.J., “Jesuit High School,” 190.

experiment with new programs remains centralized, and if a desire for uniformity continues to restrict a school's more spontaneous response to its needs and capabilities."⁷⁷ Newton suggested eliminating the structures "in which there is only one source capable of initiating change be changed so that each school becomes a source of creative experimentation and innovation" (376). If this freedom for increased autonomy were granted, "a new relationship could be developed among Jesuit schools of a particular province as well as with the other schools of our national system" (377).

In these early considerations for the reorganization of the high schools, the proceedings of the province directors of education suggest the emergence of a more formal process at work when they requested a report updating how each province was "handling 'decentralization' and granting more autonomy to its high schools."⁷⁸ Collectively, there was a mutual desire between the province and high school leadership teams to distance themselves from one another, evidenced by the major theme proposed by the commission on secondary schools for the national JEA meeting of 1969 at the University of Detroit. The members devoted three hours to exploring the relationship between "the province director and the Jesuit high school," with specific topics being freedom and local initiative, unity without uniformity, and individuality and cooperation, reflecting a growing approval for facilitating decentralization.⁷⁹ John Keating, a principal from the Maryland Province, shared his province's decentralization plan for its schools. Four phases composed the process, conveniently clear-cut in design and interpreting the entirety of the past as if its

77. Robert R. Newton, S.J., "The Jesuit High School 'System': Ambiguity in a Key Area," *Woodstock Letters* 95, no. 3 (1966): 375.

78. Minutes, Province Directors, Montreal, Appendix C.

79. Program for the JEA Meeting of the Four Commissions, University of Detroit, April 5-7, 1969, Burns Library, JEA Meeting April 1969 University of Detroit Folder, Box 10.

occurrence was part of the structured current process. Phase I occurred from 1924-1962, which was described as “centralized control by the provincial and the province director of education.” Phase II occurred from 1962-1966 and represented “cooperative effort with the province director giving approval” for school governance decisions at the local level. Phase III from 1966-1969 was the “movement toward autonomy,” with Phase IV occurring in 1969 where “local autonomy” would be fully realized.⁸⁰ The rapid implementation of the final two phases reflected the sense of urgency for the new thrust in the high schools and the hope that decentralization would quickly enable innovative processes to begin.

At their December 1969 meeting the commission on secondary schools revealed members’ increasing hesitation with their ability to envision what the high schools would look like as separate organizations with such unprecedented autonomy. While the initial enthusiasm aimed at full autonomy, some commissioners reconsidered both the pace and the ultimate direction of the new thrust. For example, Joseph F. Sweeney, president of one of the Maryland province high schools, recommended the high schools remain closely related to the colleges and that any new high school association be named the Jesuit Educational Association, Secondary School Division, “because I think we should be related to other divisions of Jesuit teaching efforts.”⁸¹

With uncertainty looming, the commission recommended the appointment of a committee to discuss the objectives and functions of the to-be-formed new JEA of secondary schools. Commissioners appointed Robert Starratt, S.J., the principal at Fairfield Prep, as chairman, with two presidents as members. In their findings, the committee

80. Minutes, Secondary Schools, Detroit, 11 (see n. 19).

81. Minutes, Secondary Schools, New Orleans, 4.

discerned the key components they deemed essential for the new association, including publishing a national newsletter for communication, creating opportunities for school representation at national, regional, and provincial levels for fostering greater collegiality and innovation, and making available needed resources for conducting research (11).

At this meeting the commission evaluated Joseph Fichter's analysis of the survey of the schools. Each commissioner had been assigned to study a chapter and then report his findings to the commission. John Reinke, president of Chicago's Loyola Academy, offered a scathing review of Fichter's seventh chapter, *Social Class and the Bourgeois Mentality*. He believed the term "bourgeois mentality" to be highly pejorative, "loaded right from its adoption" (19). Reinke said a reader of Fichter's "deplorable distortion of data" (21) could easily detect "prejudicial inferences much beyond his data," and could "not escape its insinuation and the color it imparts as a result of the way it is used" (20).

Most offensive to Reinke was Fichter's suggestion for the promotion of a greater "mix" of the student body of a Jesuit high school, an idea he dismissed as simplistic and opportunistic. "The concept has taken on a certain mystique in our day, and the feeling is about that the process will somehow (magically?) solve the ills of society and secondary education ... There is, too, a slight reparational tone, suggestive of some free-floating guilt feelings ... I find vague, uninspiring and nearly meaningless the admonition that in the high schools generally 'much more attention should be given to the disadvantaged'" (21). It was obvious that he took issue with some current movements in education, dismissing sternly what appeared to him as a mere passing fad.

Perhaps then it was quite surprising to his colleagues that the *metanoia*, the *change of heart* as named by the emerging JSEA, came to be best exemplified in Reinke, who a mere seven months after his scathing critique became the JSEA's greatest promoter. As director of a Jesuit work, Reinke had credibility among his presidential peers and the secondary school commission viewed him as a crucial bridge between them and the presidents; they depended upon him as an advocate to garner support from the other high school presidents for the new JSEA.

Reinke obliged in a quite fascinating way. Speaking to the Jesuit Alumni Administrators (JAA) at the Jung Hotel in New Orleans, he gave a rousing talk titled, "The Inner Dynamics of Jesuit Secondary Education in the United States Today." The JAA was the JEA's increasingly important administrative branch, composed initially of president rectors and eventually, presidents from both high schools and the colleges and universities. Their annual convention was designed to coincide with the American Alumni Council's convention so that the Jesuit school alumni development would benefit from greater networking. The JAA stemmed historically from the old JEA board of governors, and functioned within the JEA as a completely separate body from the commissions on higher and secondary education. Its existence reflected the growing power of the role of the school presidency in American Jesuit education.

Interestingly, while the secondary commission considered the high schools' response to the college and university move toward separation, the JAA records reveal a contrasting motive for separation, one which originated clearly from the high school presidents. They "discussed a growing sentiment toward separation from the Colleges and

Universities”⁸² because the benefit from associating with Jesuit higher education diminished as the costs involved for joint membership continued to climb. They believed the 53 high schools “carried a heavy end financially” for the ongoing support of the JAA, disproportionate when compared to the 28 colleges and universities (1-2). They began to consider a separate JAA for the high schools at the same time the commission moved to establish the JSEA. While these were separate bodies, there was an overlap in membership which proved crucial to the eventual merger of the two. Bill Wood, the president of Xavier High School of New York, described how the presidents, now aware of an emerging JSEA, “felt there should never be two separate organizations, but only a single unified group. We asked Father Reinke to put our thoughts on paper and present them to the JEA commission on Secondary Schools at Phoenix. This he did, and much of what he wrote helped to spark the Preamble, and to sharpen the focus on the importance of a uniquely Jesuit Secondary School Apostolate” (4).

As he faced his fellow presidents, Reinke’s position toward innovation was a radical departure from his earlier sharp critique of Fichter’s analysis of contemporary Jesuit high schools. It was obvious that something had changed within him regarding his reaction to the innovative thrust that had been taking place. He was more introspective in his reflection. “Change has always been a problem; it always will be. Change is a threat to many people, for psychologically it leads to insecurity, with no solid basis in the past ... As we look around us, we find identity problems, relationships are fading, structures are being eroded; those accustomed to ‘order’ are frightened. Disillusionment sets in; respect for

82. *Jesuit Alumni Administrators Secondary Schools Newsletter 5* (hereafter cited as *Jesuit Newsletter 5*), Special, Summer 1970, ed. Robert P. Neenan, S.J., Burns Library, Creighton Prep School Document Box, Box 24 [Wood insert], 1.

authority is threatened.”⁸³ Yet change was inevitable, and he now counted himself among those Jesuits “most eager for change, and here is where the Spirit must guide us through dialogue” (5).

He described how the commission at a Chicago meeting in March prepared a preliminary paper articulating reasons for the formation of a new national organization, which they then presented formally to the commission at its April meeting at Scottsdale, Arizona. In response to this earlier work in Chicago the commission, “after much thought and argument, prepared a PREAMBLE to a future constitution for a national association of Jesuit High Schools” (1-2). The Preamble would soon become the central focus piece for everything of the new JSEA, with Reinke describing it as a “new THRUST” for the Jesuit schools, containing the “IGNATIAN VISION of life style as the basic motivation for Jesuit and layman alike” (1-2). It was a declaration of independence, facilitating a new beginning for Jesuit high schools in America. “The task of drawing up the tentative statement was entrusted to Father [Robert] Starratt ... The paper was enthusiastically received by the Commission.”⁸⁴

At the July 1970 national convention of the JAA in New Orleans the high school presidents voted favorably for “the separation, regretfully but with mutual understanding, from the colleges and universities.”⁸⁵ They were unanimous in their agreement to break away. Next, the commission needed to consider whether the JAA would become a

83. Minutes, Jesuit Alumni Administration—Secondary Schools, July 9-12, 1970 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Secondary Schools), Opening Address of John H. Reinke, S.J., “The Inner Dynamics of Jesuit Secondary Education in the United States Today” (hereafter cited as “Dynamics”), Burns Library, Creighton Prep School Document Box 24, 5.

84. Minutes, JSEA Commission on Secondary Schools, Casa de Paz y Bien, Scottsdale, Arizona, April 13-15, 1970, 2.

85. *Jesuit Newsletter* 5, 5.

commission of the new JSEA or whether it would be a separate organization or coequal.

Because of Reinke's careful and convincing efforts, they decided it to become a part of it.

Bill Wood recognized Reinke's influence regarding the changes to the high schools. As both JEA commissioner and JAA councilman, Reinke facilitated what would become a merger between the two in the new JSEA. Wood reported that it was Reinke who prepared the Chicago paper which was then presented to the high school commission in Arizona two weeks later. He said that Reinke's "emphasis was most positive, and basically it embodied the idea that there is a great need for a deep realization on the part of High School Jesuits that the importance of the apostolate of Secondary Education must be reaffirmed in every way possible" (3). He believed that "what John Reinke said at Phoenix was to reaffirm that the Jesuit Apostolate of Secondary Education is totally valid, totally necessary (even more so today) and that the apostolate of Secondary Education is more important to the church and the world than that of Colleges and Universities" (3). The report regarding the Preamble at the June 1970 meeting of the JEA commission on secondary schools was a favorable one. The document had been widely distributed, with every Jesuit, lay faculty, and staff member in the United States having received a copy of it. The commission sought reaction from them and received over 400 responses. "The overwhelming majority of these responses were in strong favor of the Preamble, saying such things: the Preamble is a Manifesto ... it is dramatic and a courageous departure from the boring clichés of academic excellence and moral character building."⁸⁶

86. Minutes, JEA Commission on Secondary Schools, Cranwell School, Lenox, MA, June 22-26, 1970 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Secondary Schools, Lenox), Burns Library, Secondary Schools Minutes Folder, Box 24, 2.

In the Preamble, the members of the secondary school commission made a public validation of the high schools, which they deemed crucial, given the perceived instability of the high schools in past years. They needed to counter past perceptions of uncertainty, like that of Raymond Schroth, S.J., the managing editor of the *Woodstock Letters*, who wrote in *America Magazine* that Jesuits perhaps “have been claiming too much for, or expecting too much from, Jesuit prep schools.”⁸⁷ In the Preamble, the commission declared Jesuit secondary education to be “a significant and effective apostolate” in the United States and that it was the intention of the new association to “adopt bold approaches in education, seeking to develop and assert specifically Ignatian qualities” in the schools.⁸⁸ They recognized how “both lay and Jesuit faculty in many schools are searching for distinctive and identifiable qualities in their schools which would legitimize the adjective ‘Jesuit’” and that a primary responsibility for the association would be to provide resources for the member schools in order to help magnify distinctively Jesuit qualities for the schools (12). Jesuit high schools would have a future in America if they will be true to their particularly Jesuit heritage; that is, if they can sharpen and activate the vision of Ignatius which has sustained them for four centuries” (12). Acknowledging how those working and attending Jesuit schools in America “are all affected to various degrees by the network of values shared by the mainstream of Americans,” the Preamble stated that it was the responsibility of the schools for “illuminating the contradictions and ambiguities within this network, and consequently, at freeing our students from the distorted perceptions of reality

87. Raymond Schroth, S.J., “... And Get Back a Man,” *America Magazine* 115, no. 14 (October 1, 1966): 384.

88. JSEA, “The Preamble to the Constitution for Jesuit Secondary Education Association” (hereafter cited as “Preamble”) (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1970), 11.

engendered by many of these values” (14). The key to this liberation was Jesuit schools exercising a new responsibility “to encourage passionate and responsible commitment to social justice,” a pursuit they realized would expose students to “delicate and potentially divisive issues, but we should not therefore neglect them out of fear of alumni or parental disapproval” (14).

Near the Preamble’s conclusion was an easily overlooked yet historically significant shift regarding the desired outcome for the schools. The writers invoked the valuable identity of the *insignes* [the Catholic elite] as they related to the schools but with a very different understanding applied to the term. *Insignes* referred not to the desired product of Jesuit education who would compose the Catholic elite in America. Rather, it referred instead to the producers, the instructors in the Jesuit schools who embraced the new vision. In the Preamble it was now regarded as “an Ignatian term to describe a person who responds to the call of Christ with complete generosity” (15). As an *insignis*, “although not receiving headlines in mass media, the day-to-day work in the classroom is no less dramatic ... the classroom teacher can be as much of an insignis as the public martyr, if he believes in the dramatic possibilities in his life and work” (15).

Among the commission’s final business was to decide whether there should be a convention to introduce the new JSEA to the schools. Given the strong desire of promoting school autonomy, the idea of a national meeting seemed contradictory; they feared it might present the JSEA as an imposing, hierarchical organization—too much like their perception of the provincial structures of the past. However, the commission thought there was good reason to hold one, given “the new thrust and enthusiasm created by the

Preamble.”⁸⁹ The commissioners also believed that a national convention would provide a strong introduction to the new organization. Curiously, although they desired to distance themselves from provincial structures, they wanted the meeting to demonstrate provincial support because, “psychologically, the assistance of the Provincials would be a source of encouragement and a stamp of approval to harried administrators, dedicated priests and scholastics, and loyal laymen.”⁹⁰ Undecided, they agreed to table the proposal until their next meeting.

The final meeting of the Jesuit-only commission on secondary schools was held in December 1970 in Saint Louis. The first item for business was addressing the provincials’ concern over the new JSEA bylaws. On behalf of the provincials, Gerald Sheahan explained what he and the others viewed as an emerging problem—the overemphasis of institutional autonomy. “The Provincials’ ultimate responsibility and, therefore, authority is not sufficiently expressed.”⁹¹ The association’s desire for full autonomy produced tension and confusion, for there clearly remained a need for Jesuit works to relate to Jesuit governance, but what that relationship would be remained mysterious. In an effort to reassure the provincials while guarding independence for the future JSEA, the commissioners “agreed that all important materials issued from JSEA should be sent” to the province directors of education, but they would not be allowed to attend the meetings of the new board of directors, a significant change that demoted them to “be considered

89. Minutes, Secondary Schools, Lenox, 5.

90. Ibid., 8.

91. Minutes, JSEA Commission on Secondary Schools, Saint Louis University Fusz Memorial, December 7–8, 1970 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Secondary Schools, Fusz Memorial), Burns Library, Box 24 (no Folder), 1.

associate members.”⁹² Reinke pointed to the new national board as a reflection of the changed priorities of Jesuit secondary education. The soon-to-be-defunct secondary school commission consisted of ten principals and ten province representatives from the ten American provinces. The new membership for a JSEA board expanded in terms of diversity of membership, so that it would “include Presidents, Principals, other Jesuits, laymen, and outsiders,” in order to communicate greater collegiality and openness to innovation.⁹³

To reassure the provincials that they valued a sense of continuity between the new association and the historical roots of the Society of Jesus, the commission invited John Padberg, a Harvard-trained Jesuit historian from Saint Louis University, to facilitate their reflection on the emerging JSEA and its relationship to the Society’s past. John K. Mott, the commission’s secretary, described Padberg’s position for Jesuit secondary education in the United States. “No one today sees our education as an ivory tower enterprise. Many see it as a social escalator, but few see us on the frontier.”⁹⁴ This identity of Jesuit high schools as “a social escalator overrode and constrained our attempt at innovation.”⁹⁵ Padberg desired the new JSEA to choose innovation over social advancement, for he maintained that this new thrust flowed from the pioneering roots that promoted adaptation of the Society’s educational work.

The structure of the new organization would be the means to the desired innovative end sought for the JSEA. The new constitution created four commissions that would facilitate the work of the association: academic development, religious education,

92. *Ibid.*, 2.

93. Minutes, Secondary Schools, “Dynamics,” 2.

94. Minutes, Secondary Schools, Fusz Memorial, 3.

95. *Ibid.*

planning and development, and research. The commissioners realized that the success of the new association was dependent upon its conception being well-received by member schools. With much debate and some reluctance, the commission revisited their earlier proposal and agreed to introduce the JSEA and its Preamble through published guidelines for action and later, a national convention. The commissioners recognized that their desire for the schools could not come to fruition through directives imposed upon member schools, proceeding in such a way communicated a hierarchical modeling they clearly had rejected. Innovation had to occur at the grass roots level; the national convention was charged with emphasizing this style to the attendees.

Prior to the convention, the JSEA's published "Guidelines for Action" offered a series of programs for schools at the local level "to understand the Preamble, to generate enthusiasm for its vision, and to implement with action" through a strategic encounter with it.⁹⁶ Two processes for promoting this grassroots action were proposed, the first being "involvement," which proposed conversational pieces that would promote people to "speak up or shut up," by providing "discussions on some key Ignatian concepts [for] parents—faculty—students" (6). The second was "confrontation," which proposed activities for the various constituencies, including for the students a "'sound and light show' on the themes of the Preamble," a proposal to "draw up a picture of a successful alumnus," a term paper exploring "the meaning of 'Jesuit presence' in a school, and the opportunity to "present a collage—of pictures, or of words, or of sounds—to show themes from the Preamble: Joy and Creation, Unequal Distribution of Wealth, All God's People, Drama of Good and Evil" (12-15).

96. JSEA, *Guidelines for Action* (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1970).

Similar to the wide distribution of both the Preamble and the published guidelines, the commission desired wide exposure by promoting attendance at the proposed convention in order to create a lasting impact upon a strong foundation, so it was their position that “there will be no limit on the number that a school can send to the convention. We hope that at least one administrator, teacher, parent, and student would come from each school.”⁹⁷ Fairfield Prep’s principal, Jerry Starratt, who was instrumental in composing the Preamble, was asked to speak on the “Spirit of the Preamble,” and the commission hoped they might get “an outside speaker of national stature who would talk on The Necessity of Innovation.”⁹⁸ In their brainstorming the commission favored government officials and economists. Among those under consideration were Daniel P. Moynihan, key to the government’s War on Poverty, and Abraham Ribicoff, the secretary of health, education, and welfare in the Kennedy administration.

The convention was held in Chicago in April 1971 and in attendance were the diverse constituents that the commissioners desired. The meeting consisted of presentations centered upon the Preamble and its capacity to kindle the efforts of the new commissions. As planned, Starratt began with a presentation on the spirit of the Preamble, which included a public acknowledgment of the new problem of Jesuit identity and the high schools. He wondered what Jesuit impact, identity, or character really consisted of, and he believed in the need for a corrective of any perception that the “Jesuits are some kind of super-Christians, that they possess a quality of dedication and sanctity which

97. Minutes, Secondary Schools, Fusz Memorial, 6.

98. Ibid.

Catholic laymen ... cannot possess.”⁹⁹ He then presented a thesis, which he acknowledged he could not prove, that historically, “the secular purpose of Catholic school education—namely, as the means to eventual acquisition of the good life and of economic, social and political power—was at least equal, if not uppermost, to the purpose of maintaining religious and ethnic identity” (7). He interpreted historically that “Catholic schools were well used by their clients” who “shrewdly and intelligently perceived the Catholic school precisely as a means to ... the eventual acquisition of social, economic, and political power” (7). This was even more pronounced in the Jesuit system, whose “clients also shared the surface ambiguity of goals found among the Catholic population at large. And because of the prestige attached to the Jesuit tradition, Jesuit schools were seen as even more valuable to the secular concerns of parents than other Catholic schools” (8). He contrasted this motivation with what he described as the religious goals of Jesuit educators, promoters of an “immigrant ghetto mentality” who felt they were “protectors of the faith in a hostile religious environment” (7). Standing in front of current parents, students, lay teachers and administrators, Starratt asked the Jesuits, “Do we want to continue to be used in this way, to remain basically responsive to the dictates of parents and alumni who want their children to continue the process of acquiring even more social, economic and political power?” (9). He observed how it was “painfully evident among younger Jesuits” that they “do not particularly care to sacrifice their lives on behalf of a ‘fit’ for upper middle-class children in a pluralistic society,” especially “when the struggle is to help Johnny tool up for a fat college board score which leads to a prestige college and a prestige job with prestige

99. Robert J. Starratt, S.J., “The Spirit of the Preamble,” in *The Preamble: Historical Identity and Contemporary Discernment* (hereafter cited as *Historical Identity*) (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1971), 1.

money and prestige cocktails at a prestige golf course” (10). To this end, Starratt argued, Jesuits and other religious “are saying: go buy yourselves another set of vestal virgins” (10).

He professed that the students knew precisely the mixed motivations at work in their attending a Jesuit school. They “know the name of the game. Ask them why they attend a Jesuit school ... Many will readily admit that their parents send them because of the status, because of the ‘discipline’ (which usually means shorter hair and a dress code), or simply because there are too many socially undesirables at the local public schools” (10). He saw in the founding of the JSEA, and specifically within the Preamble, a liberating opportunity “to redeem the blunders as well as the sacrifices of the past, when we can now develop our Christian maturity” (13). In the writing of the Preamble, the Jesuits “had turned a corner, or perhaps we were led by the Spirit to hurry up and get around a corner that had already been turned by the Church. For when we finished drawing up the Preamble we were able to return to our schools with fresh enthusiasm and a remarkable confidence” (14). This was the innovative spirit that Starratt had hoped to convey. He made it clear that Jesuit secondary education in America still very much wanted to “encourage young men who will become doctors and lawyers, and political leaders and scientists, but doctors and lawyers and political leaders and scientists who are willing to serve the poor and devote themselves to changing those social structures which perpetuate injustice and discriminatory practices” (14). He wanted Jesuit secondary schools to “develop young men who will risk letting go of their own security blankets, whether that be in the form of a safe career, a comfortable religious mediocrity, social acceptance at the country club, or a stack of inflated insurance policies” (15).

As the convention continued a Jesuit theologian from the divinity school of Saint Louis University spoke about the Jesuits' spirituality at work within the Preamble. While the schools changed John Futrell emphasized the need for them to seek greater "awareness of the cultural context of the United States today," which he maintained would help the schools to better understand the students they were called to serve (36). By readily acknowledging the American cultural context from which a student came, the schools would be more effective. Understanding that each student came from "an unconscious framework for the way he structures his experiences and chooses his actions" would enable the schools to adapt the spirituality so that it would be more effectively received.¹⁰⁰ He saw within the new formula for future success a sincere offering of the Jesuits to share their religious spirituality not only with the students, but with the faculty and staff who increasingly had a greater responsibility in student formation. He saw this sharing of spirituality as key to the Jesuits' future influence in the American cultural context from which their students came. "If we truly impart the Ignatian vision to our students, we must expect our students and alumni to have an explosive effect on the American culture in which we live ... [They] will certainly seek concrete and effective ways to bring about a radical transformation of this culture."¹⁰¹

After Futrell addressed the convention, Edward O'Brien, S.J., from Saint Louis University High School and the chair of the new commission on religious education, reflected upon the JSEA's role in renewing the study of religion in the schools, which he maintained would facilitate the change Futrell had just described. That religious education

100. John Carroll Futrell, S.J., "The Ignatian Vision: Discerning the Magis," in *Preamble*, 37.

101. *Ibid.*, 38.

was key to the JSEA was the fruit of an ongoing realization that the religious dimension was precisely what made a Jesuit school distinctive. Earlier, when Jesuits populated the school classrooms and administration, the religious identity permeated the institution; it was a lived religion through the example of the Jesuits themselves. As their numbers decreased, the religious identity needed to become more curricular, representing a fundamental shift in how faith was transmitted from personal example to academic subject. In addition to facilitating future cultural transformation, O'Brien believed that the innovative spirit contained the potential for the entire American Catholic school system to look to the Jesuit schools for leadership in renewing religious education. "In a time of crisis and confusion, religious educators are looking for intelligent, well organized, imaginative and effective programs."¹⁰² He proposed that the Jesuit schools "choose our best teachers to teach religion and our best teachers would have to be willing to undertake the task" (50). Doing so would enable the Jesuit schools, fueled by the "vision enunciated in the Preamble ... [to] become the leaders in religious education in the United States" (55). As the JSEA grew, the desire to deepen the religious impact of the Jesuit schools continued to expand. The association commissioned the Jesuit theologian Avery Dulles to address specifically the issue of faith formation in 1972. His words expanded O'Brien's foundational vision beyond the classroom. "As the Jesuit high school moves toward the future," Dulles wrote, "there will be an increasing need for theological updating, not simply in the curriculum, but in all the manifestations of religion to which the students are exposed—in the liturgy, in preaching, in student counseling, and in the moral and spiritual attitudes of any teachers

102. Edward C. O'Brien, S.J., "The Direction for Leadership in Religious Education," in *Preamble*, 50.

who identify themselves as Catholic. Only if these attitudes harmonize with the general program of the school, as set forth in documents such as those of the Jesuit Secondary Education Association, is there any hope of bridging the gap between a modernized pedagogy and an antiquated vision of the Church.”¹⁰³

Immediately following the convention the JSEA Board of Directors gathered at the Palmer House Hotel for their first meeting. Compared to its JEA predecessor, the commission on secondary schools, the new board of directors had seventeen members, six from the old commission, and eleven new members, one of whom was a layman. The new board was energized by the convention, which Bill Wood described as a great sign of future success for what he felt were liberated Jesuit high schools. “Jesuit High Schools overcame their identity crises, and began to see themselves as they are, they began to feel their numerical strength across the country ... right now there seems to be a new THRUST on our own, as JESUIT HIGH SCHOOLS, a drive for social justice.”¹⁰⁴

The first item of business was discussion of a letter approving the JSEA, written a month earlier in Rome by Pedro Arrupe. He identified as one of the more important potential outcomes of the new organization “the fostering of a spirit of cooperation among all American Jesuits engaged in educational work.”¹⁰⁵ He called the Preamble “a remarkable statement,” and offered a series of guidelines that he proposed American Jesuits follow as they moved along with the thrust of the Preamble (182).

103. Avery Dulles, S.J., “Catholic Theology and the Secondary School: Address Delivered at Xavier High School, New York City, December 16, 1972” (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1972), 9.

104. Minutes, JSEA Board of Directors, Palmer House, Chicago, April 12, 1971 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Board of Directors, Chicago), Burns Library, Box 24 (4).

105. Arrupe, “De Opere Educationis” (7 March 1971), in *Dossier ‘Arrupe 1965–1972’* (Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1972), 181.

The guidelines disclosed the enormous expectations he held for the new vision articulated by the Jesuits for secondary education in America, and his rhetoric revealed the high standard he placed upon the schools in response to the Jesuits' lofty vision. He believed the JSEA presented a utopian vision worthy of pursuit, and he held that it was the Jesuits' responsibility to ensure that students find it to "be tantalizingly attractive ... It must encourage them to internalize attitudes of deep and universal compassion for their suffering fellow men and to transform themselves into men of peace and justice, commitment to be agents of change in a world which recognizes how widespread is injustice, how pervasive the forces of oppression" (184). In recognizing how "in more than one school we are accused of catering to the wealthy" (187-88), he believed the incarnation of the JSEA's vision would prove challenging, "for your students come largely from comfortable or even affluent families ... they have unconsciously accepted values which are incompatible with the limpid foolishness of the Beatitudes" (184).

To counter these cultural values he advised the Jesuits to recall constantly their aim of fostering future influence in the greater culture. He recommended they have great confidence that their "students are called to be leaders in their world tomorrow," for the new effort for secondary schooling would equip students "for service of their fellowmen ... using their influence to right social wrongs and to bring a radical Christian dimension into each of their professional social and private lives" (185). Of particular concern for Arrupe was the potential tension this new vision would produce between Jesuits and students' parents and the need for Jesuits to anticipate potential challenges from parents, in whom he saw "a pervasive fear of the future" (186). "Parents of your students have a claim on you,"

he reminded them, and the Jesuits “may find that on some basic issues there is disagreement between what you teach in the classroom and what the parents teach ... [yet] Because of such differences of opinion you cannot water down your teaching” (187). He advised them to remain steadfast in their promotion of social justice especially, even in the face of potential misunderstanding of disagreeing parents.

Simultaneously with the national cooperation among Jesuits that the JSEA would promote, Arrupe wanted Jesuits to be more cognizant of the growing dependence of the Society upon the quality of lay co-workers for the future success of the schools. Because of this, he instructed they see the “entire educational activity as communitarian. Each lay teacher, in accordance with his talents and willingness to serve, should share responsibility for the school on an equal footing” with Jesuits (183).

In the board’s discussion of Arrupe’s directives, the members became aware that newly claimed school autonomy changed not only the relationship to provincial structures but even with the father general himself. Secretary Robert P. Neenan, S.J, recorded one response made by Jim Farrell, a Jesuit teacher at University of Detroit High School, who noted how Arrupe “implies that Jesuits can and must be trusted and treated as mature adults, and for this reason he gives us guidelines, not legislative decrees. Hence, we might applaud, though cautiously, what the letter does not say, that the matter of the future of the Jesuit High School apostolate is clearly up to us.”¹⁰⁶ Despite the deepening liberation he detected for the schools, Farrell described the work of the new JSEA as “a lonely task, to go out there to light the fuse of a rocket, not knowing if it will explode,” a comment that

106. Minutes, Board of Directors, Chicago, Box 24, 3.

suggested that while the vision inspired, mysteriously absent were the directives for its safe incarnation (3).

Perhaps most significant at this first board meeting was the articulation of the desire to provide service to the member schools: “to help them to INNOVATE ... with everyone participating” (5). It was an idealistic vision of inclusion and cooperation, including one particular recommendation for how it might best occur coming from the new president of the JSEA, a California Jesuit named Edwin McDermott. He “pointed out that he felt Jesuits should be professionally trained in the psychology of education [in order] to be prepared for innovation” (5). All board members agreed to the innovative drive expected of the JSEA leadership, which Bill Wood described as being clearly systematic. “Just as innovation must be integral, so must the whole Ignatian Vision, as the motivating force where ‘we feel it in our very bones’ ... The vision, and the innovation that follows it, requires a community of understanding and appreciation from all parts of the organic whole, which is the entire family of faculty and staff, parents and students, friends of the school. Such an integrated organic structure spells success for JSEA” (6).

An early project that demonstrated this innovative spirit involved the work of the newly formed commission on research and development. While the JSEA recognized the Preamble as an effective starting point, “at the same time it has brought to light the realization that further steps are needed.”¹⁰⁷ With participation of Jesuit and outside consultation, the commission created a document based upon gathered input and its analysis, envisioning the distinctive characteristics of Jesuit secondary schooling in America.

107. JSEA Commission on Research and Development, *The Jesuit High School of the Future* (hereafter cited as *Future*), (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1972), 1.

“The Jesuit High School of the Future” was the result, a partial fruit of JSEA acknowledgment that given ever-increasing costs, Jesuit schools would survive only if they offered “something significantly different from and educationally superior to what is offered by the public schools,” and that they “will shift more towards the independent school model and away from their image as a part of the Catholic socialization process” (8). The commission decided that the key distinctive feature for the schools would be “their uniquely Jesuit character which is currently being renewed through the development of a new sense of Jesuit identity and a revival of interest in the Spiritual Exercises and the Ignatian vision of education” (8). The document detailed the fundamental shifts desired by the JSEA for the Jesuit school environment, a movement away from being one “which tried to fit the school to the learner rather than the learner to the school; a movement from emphasis on uniformity, centralization, and pursuit of efficiency and order to emphasis on pluralism, diversity, and the acceptance of ambiguity” (9). The new Jesuit high school would promote a “conscious effort to de-emphasize peer competition and fear of failure as motivating forces for learning” in a religious environment transformed “from a more closed, preservative religious orientation to the creation of a noncoercive Christian atmosphere” (10). This meant that the new vision valued egalitarianism and religious openness and implied that the old vision fostered intellectual divisions and religious separatism.

Perhaps to emphasize the validity of this point, the JSEA eventually released the analysis of the alumni survey commissioned years earlier in 1965 as the third component of Fichter’s earlier study. In the midst of voluminous cultural and religious tumult, the survey

analysis had been abandoned. After the formation of the JSEA, the Jesuits shared the data with a new organization for processing and interpretation: the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) at Georgetown University. In introducing the analysis, CARA's Edward M. Sullivan acknowledged that "there may be a tendency on the part of some to see the entire project as merely historical and to dismiss it as irrelevant."¹⁰⁸ CARA's William J. Mehok, S.J., echoed this concern that readers might dismiss the data as obsolete, that a potential criticism "already voiced against the alumni survey is that it reports on the product of a Jesuit high school training program that no longer exists" (3). He believed the results and analysis would prove helpful if taken within the context of Fichter's earlier work. Additionally, as the JSEA developed, this new data and analysis was important simply because it "does tell us something about how the Jesuit high school changed during the period" (17). Edwin J. McDermott explained that the completion of the analysis, though delayed, could still be "helpful to schools as they reach out to new designs and offer innovative programs in the spirit of the J.S.E.A. Preamble ... [and] to summon our alumni to a new spirit of justice and a new dedication to oppressed and deprived people" (i). More than anything, the analysis of Jesuit alumni affirmed strongly the need to continue cultivating the support of the religious identity of the schools. Mehok reported that "the central focus on this research project is on the Christianizing influence of the schools. On this score the findings give room for disquiet. If the experience of the 1965 graduates is an indication of what, for example, the 1974 and 1975 graduates have in store for them, then the picture is a sobering one. In five years, one out of ten will not believe in God; one out

108. Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), *The Alumni of 1965 Report Back: A Study of 3,722 Alumni of Jesuit High Schools of the Class of 1965* (Washington, DC: JSEA, May 1974), ii.

of four will not call himself a Catholic; only two out of three will believe there is an ultimate purpose to the universe; no more than that will say they believe in the Bible; no more than that will believe in immortality; no more than that will say that Jesus Christ has a unique or special meaning to them ... two out of three will not be going to weekly Mass” (174-75).

With the alumni survey confirming the need for stronger future religious identity, the JSEA vision for the future placed greater emphasis upon “appreciation of human diversity and an understanding of other cultures, especially those of the Third World ... and a sense of world citizenship; intellectual and emotional awareness that we are one race, on one planet.”¹⁰⁹ This meant that the school itself would seek “a racially and socio-economically integrated student body and a school atmosphere which promotes respect and understanding for minority groups” (12). Finally, the document anticipated possible “overriding concerns” for the future, especially regarding possible global crises like overpopulation, exhaustion of energy sources, pollution, nuclear war, and unjust and dehumanizing structures in the world (15). As a possible help for facing these concerns, three of the document’s 24 pages were devoted to highlighting the thought of Willis W. Harman, a Stanford-trained engineer and New Age thinker who promoted the knowledge of human intuition.

As the different JSEA commissions reflected upon the envisioned future, it was the commission on planning and development which offered a specific plan for realizing it. At a 1972 executive committee meeting held at O’Hare Airport in Chicago, Bill Wood reminded the leadership group of key aspects emphasized in the document. The high

109. “Future,” 11.

schools would not only survive, they would become even better “if the school is TRULY JESUIT, with the Ignatian principles and the Spiritual objectives of the Preamble among its basic goals.”¹¹⁰ The committee declared that the guardians for the promotion of this future Jesuit identity would be the high school presidents. They voted to plan the first of what would become a more regular feature: workshops to further define the role of the Jesuit high school president, especially with regard to this core responsibility of protecting and promoting future identity.

To his colleagues at the first workshop in 1972, Edward A. Doyle, S.J., president of Jesuit High School New Orleans, described the essentiality of the presidency. “More today than ever before, the President, as chief executive of the Jesuit High School, must be an unhyphenated person. He must be a person-priest-professional, simultaneously.”¹¹¹ To master the complexity of this identity required careful formation of the presidency and the JSEA believed this formative task was the best contribution it could offer the schools. Bill Wood asked each president at the workshop to submit what he felt to be a major question they faced. Interestingly, the most important topic highlighted not identity concerns but rather the financial problems of the schools (4). Identity was a secondary concern, placed within the realm of engaging the greater public. They were unanimous in their desire that the Jesuit school “image, throughout the country, should be one of the DOMINANT systems of education on the secondary level” (5). If the schools were perceived as nationally

110. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Commission on Planning and Development, Chicago, O’Hare Field, April 25, 1972 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Executive Committee, Chicago), Burns Library, Creighton Prep School Document Box 24, 1.

111. Minutes, Presidents’ Workshop, September 24–27, 1972, Special Edition Newsletter, Commission on Planning and Development of the JSEA, ed. Robert P. Neenan, S.J., Burns Library, Creighton Prep School Document Box 24, 2.

dominant among all schools, they would gain the external respect and financial support the presidents were seeking.

At the second workshop in 1973, the presidents devoted more attention to the question of identity. For example, Richard Cobb, S.J., the president of Brophy Prep in Phoenix, shared his experience of how the expectation for schools “to be uniquely Jesuit” was placed increasingly upon the Jesuit president.¹¹² In later deliberations the presidents considered the differences in how they were addressing the identity issue. One workshop session considered an innovative experiment at Seattle Prep. The Oregon provincial, Kenneth Galbraith, wanted Seattle Prep “to come up with a new program, ‘a radical change.’”¹¹³ The plan decreased the number of Jesuits to five, missioned to promote the “uniquely Jesuit” identity into the school. “Instead of presuming the school to be Jesuit because Jesuits are there, the proposal is to make this the key idea, the ‘out front’ position on which the rest of the plan must be secured.”¹¹⁴ Thomas Healy, the president-principal at the school was appointed by Gailbrath to facilitate this “new thrust” in Seattle.¹¹⁵ At the presidents’ workshop, Healy reported to the other presidents how “many had looked upon this as a daring choice” to purposefully assign a small number of Jesuits for such a task, but that “the public press has turned completely around to a positive approach.”¹¹⁶ In other words, the president and his team of five Jesuits at Seattle Prep attempted to transfer Jesuitness so that it became more adjectival, descriptive of the institution, rather than a noun centered upon the Jesuit persons within the school.

112. Summary of Session, Presidents’ Workshop, October 7–10, 1973, 5.

113. Wilfred P. Schoenbert, S.J., *Paths to the Northwest: A Jesuit History of the Oregon Province* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), 550.

114. Summary of Session, Presidents’ Workshop, October 7–10, 1973, 9.

115. Schoenbert, *Paths to the Northwest*, 551.

116. Presidents’ Workshop, 10.

Later, Paul Reinert, S.J., the president of Saint Louis University, addressed the presidents about his perceptions for the future of Jesuit secondary education. Though the JSEA was decidedly separate from Jesuit higher education, that Reinert was invited to address the presidents signaled the high schools' recognition of the value of maintaining some relationship with the colleges and universities. Reinert's commentary was sobering. He detected that in their work the presidents had neglected to understand their students fully and he proposed they be more realistic about the caliber of their students. "Most of you would like to think that you are preparing your students for acceptance by the most prestigious colleges and universities ... to admit that the market for our particular education offerings is anything less than ... a favored feeder for the Ivy League is equally shameful."¹¹⁷ He instructed them to "take a hard and honest look at the students you actually serve. Where did they come from? Why did they come? And are they getting what they came for? The answers you get will provide invaluable input for the development of your institutional goals, for updating your curriculum, for charting your future." He warned them that continued lack of knowledge and the stifling of innovation would lead to greater misunderstanding and even institutional stagnation. "Such self-deception can be fatal," especially for any system that "continues on the same academic course it pursued through the booming sixties ... For all of us, as we face the pressure and problems of the seventies, the password to salvation is 'reform or perish.'"¹¹⁸

The presidents were further challenged when they considered the most recent observations of Arrupe, who had visited the United States between their two workshops.

117. Paul C. Reinert, S.J., "Looking Ahead in Education," Presidents' Workshop, 5.

118. Ibid.

Speaking to the JSEA board of directors in New York in November 1972, he criticized the slowness in implementing the innovative spirit of the JSEA and its Preamble. He reemphasized the need for Jesuit high schools to accept that “our students are not to see themselves as isolated individuals learning how to elbow their way through hostile masses to positions of power and prestige. Rather, let them discover in ways they can never forget that they are brothers in a planetary village, fellow pilgrims on spaceship earth.”¹¹⁹ He reminded the board that ongoing formation specifically for Jesuits in the high school apostolate was crucial for fostering their ability to “help guide our schools in continuity with our best traditions through the uncharted educational seas of the 1970s.”¹²⁰ And, of course, the ongoing process of transformation continued to risk being tremendously misunderstood. Arrupe encouraged the board to remain steadfast in its vision. He predicted that the schools would fall short of his desired outcomes for them and that there would be many failures. Yet he remained hopeful. “We shall see all these [failures], but we shall not be discouraged by them ... we have lifted our gaze and rearticulated our vision.”¹²¹

Arrupe’s continued challenge suggested that the answer would be revealed in greater clarification and understanding of Jesuit identity for the schools. The board requested that Robert Starratt address the identity issue on behalf of the JSEA, for the association had confidence in him based on his earlier articulation of the Preamble. President Edwin McDermott wrote how the board, in its desire to address the identity concern, wanted to speak with all of the teachers, “not just the Jesuit teacher, not just the

119. Arrupe, Address of Father General to the Board of Directors of the Jesuit Secondary Education Association (henceforth cited as Address of Father General) (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1972), 6.

120. Ibid., 9.

121. Ibid., 10.

lay teacher, but to the teachers as heart and life of our schools.”¹²² In the resulting document, “Apostolic Consciousness: Key to Jesuit Education,” Starratt assessed the tensions developing in the schools because of disagreement about Jesuit identity. Some Jesuits were concerned that the growing population of lay faculty diluted Jesuit character in the schools. Some lay teachers felt the stress on Ignatian spirituality meant they needed to become “quasi-Jesuits in order to have a valid place in Jesuit schools.”¹²³ Regarding the reality of declining Jesuit manpower, he recommended that “instead of viewing this as necessitating the closing of some Jesuit schools in order to concentrate substantial numbers of Jesuits in others, we can view it as a challenge to do what, perhaps, we should have been doing years ago. That is, schools should work, beginning this year, *as if* they will have only enough Jesuits available in ten years to fill perhaps only 10 % of the faculty and staff positions.”¹²⁴ In other words, Jesuit schools were to become less and less dependent upon the physical presence of Jesuit persons. Somehow, they were to remain Jesuit schools—the JSEA existed to assist in this process.

As the meeting concluded, Bill Wood provided for the presidents a historical review of the national transformation that had taken place thus far. He recalled the highly structured, systematic high school apostolate before the 1960s in order to remind the others just how much change had actually taken place. The past was too restrictive, he argued, filled with interference at the grassroots level from hierarchical province structures from above. Making a caricature of history, he reminded the presidents that prior to the

122. Edwin J. McDermott, S.J., preface to Robert Starratt, S.J., “Apostolic Consciousness: Key to Jesuit Education 1973,” in *Foundations*, ed. Carl E. Meirose (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1994), 23.

123. Starratt, “Apostolic Consciousness,” 25.

124. McDermott, preface, 29.

JSEA, if a teacher wanted some particular exception, he would go first to the principal, “who spoke to the Rector, who spoke to his consultants and then to the Province Director of Education, who spoke to the Provincial, who then spoke to his consultants and I think also to God!”¹²⁵ The fundamental contribution of the JSEA was the liberation of schools from this hierarchical system. This seemed to be the outcome proposed seven years earlier in the Jesuits’ *Woodstock Letters*, by Robert R. Newton, S.J. “The teacher in the Jesuit school has his thinking done for him, and once the syllabus has been published little more remains other than how to divide the matter required for the province examination.”¹²⁶ Newton’s early assessment of what the schools needed was a premonition of the JSEA. “The school that would adapt to the needs of the present must abandon an attitude which looks to the administrator as the source of all direction, and must aim at creating an environment which encourages the talents and initiative of individual Jesuits and lay teachers.”¹²⁷ Surrounded by Jesuit presidents a few short years later, Wood proudly recognized that the presidency and the JSEA would foster innovation. “For the first time American Jesuit high school administrators had faced the core problem ... together. They had groped their way through to a renewed vision and sense of purpose.”¹²⁸

Background Voices of Caution in the Face of Radical Change

While Wood offered an optimistic interpretation of what had taken place to create the JSEA, there was simultaneously strong criticism of what was happening to American

125. William T. Wood, S.J., “Where Are We in J.S.E.A. Today,” Presidents’ Workshop, 1.

126. Robert R. Newton, S.J., “Self-Renewal in Jesuit High Schools,” *Woodstock Letters* 95, no. 1 (Winter 1966): 90.

127. *Ibid.*, 91.

128. Wood, “Where Are We,” 3.

Catholic life in the 1960s. At the grassroots level, for some institutions and for some people, the volume of change and the speed of change was upsetting. Martin Marty, ecumenical observer at the Second Vatican Council and professor of church history at the University of Chicago, warned of misdirection in the renewal process of Catholicism. While “extremism in renewal is anything but the greatest problem in today’s Catholicism,” he saw a more pressing challenge in the potential for misguidance, which would ultimately feed cynicism and lead to the end of reform.¹²⁹ He limited his concerns to what he named as five dangers of renewal: removal, romance with the world, revolution, premature resolution, and representation of personal problems. It was “overkill” when Catholic renewalists were demanding to the point that they abandoned the faith because of disillusionment (122). It was futile “trying to make up for centuries of world denial, especially when the Christian understanding of worldliness had been limited to “enmity to God’s purpose” (123). With Vatican II, the church recognized that the world bore more than antagonism toward the sacred, but it needed time to unpack the depth of this positive understanding and for this reason: Marty maintained reformers did a disservice for the reform as they “rewrote their theology almost entirely in the mood of the moment” (123). Such theological absolutism was premature because the 1960s represented a “response to change, change so sudden and so sweeping that no one can claim to perceive the eye at the center of its storm, to say nothing of being unable to assess its perimeters” (124). Ultimately, he suspected that the rush of reformers was ultimately a manifestation of “problems of the self as Oedipal or aggressive” where the reformer “has to kill off the parent” (124). It was a

129. Martin Marty, “A Warning to Catholic Extremists,” *America Magazine* 119, no. 5 (August 31, 1968): 122.

process that made others “sometimes awed by the force of the tantruming in some Catholic renewal circles” (124).

Applied to particular aspects of the key documents of the JSEA, Marty’s cautions seem apropos, given the tension they produced within the schools. One problem centered upon rhetoric that was perhaps romantic, revolutionary, and premature at the same time. As William J. Connolly, S.J., of the Jesuits’ Center for Religious Development in Cambridge, Massachusetts described, “There is always a gap between official proposals and the development of the attitudes they propose.”¹³⁰ Philip S. Land, S.J., of the Jesuits’ Center of Concern in Washington, D.C., believed that this ‘gap’ between Jesuit rhetoric and reality led to dismissal of the pronouncements. When the Jesuit “believes that his problems are not being consulted in the writing of or interpretation of a document, today’s Jesuit tends to be turned off” (210). Land collected and then assessed the differing opinions within the Society regarding its commitment to the pursuit of social justice. From the perspective of the 1970s some Jesuits lathed a return “to the ‘horrors’ of the sixties, to an activism that plunged some of our best into a mindless, unprepared frenzy of activity, bereft of serious social analysis” (224). Others feared the seeking of justice would ask them to “abandon our areas of proved competence for a venture into the unknown and even into incompetence ... All of this is political. And that is not our forte” (214). Detecting the tumult in their midst, some Jesuits wondered whether the continued pursuit of justice meant “calling our educational system to commit suicide. Is the call one to a social activism that means the evacuation of our schools?” (214). For Land, this understanding was

130. William J. Connolly, S.J., “Jesuit Spiritualities and the Struggle for Social Justice,” *Spirituality* 9, no. 4 (September, 1977): 201.

particularly irksome because he felt it to be unfounded. “Just how this interpretation ever got abroad is not clear,” for such abandonment was never explicitly proposed in any decree of the Society (231). Aware of lingering individualism and division, he acknowledged how “there can be no question that many social activists of that epoch gave the social apostolate a bad name ... But that failure of the sixties—there were also glorious successes—need not be reason for rejecting” the call for the pursuit of social justice (224).

The reverberations from the social apostolate were felt within Jesuit schools around the country. For example, James Hitchcock, a layman and professor of history at the Jesuits’ Saint Louis University, was critical of both reform and reformers, whom he believed had “grossly underestimated the extent of the problems and the measures that could alleviate them. The more we have reformed, both in state and church, the worse our problems have become, the less sure we are of solutions, and the more cynical and dubious we are about institutions themselves and not merely their visible weaknesses.”¹³¹ He maintained that the problem was ultimately one of volume. “In the past decade the problem has been one of quantity and velocity, less one of quality. There has simply been too much change, occurring too rapidly, for any society or any individual to cope with successfully.”¹³² The demand for reform and the breadth of proposed transformation wreaked havoc upon the apostolic vitality of the Jesuit works, so much that some institutions could not sustain themselves in the instability the changes produced.

In the face of such criticism, Arrupe remained steadfast in his pursuit of the Society’s transformation, for he believed it to be the greater good for the apostolic vitality

131. James Hitchcock, “Here Lies Community: R.I.P.” *America Magazine* 122, no. 21 (May 30, 1970): 581.

132. Hitchcock, “What Really Happened?,” 451 (see n. 5).

of the Jesuits even if it was misunderstood. Certainly he was aware of the magnitude of the renewal at work. “As a result of the Council the Church has been given a tremendous shock. You could describe it as an earthquake and we are still experiencing some of the tremors. The Society is trying to do its best and like the Church it is undergoing a period of purification. The Society is experiencing a great deal of public humiliation; many people are scandalized by the Society and say ‘Oh, so this is the Society of Jesus!’ Whether it is fair or not we have to recognize the facts and we must try to be faithful knowing that the humiliation is good for us. Even if the Society is reduced in numbers it must remain one hundred per cent Jesuit.”¹³³

In the final meeting of the commission on secondary schools, Joseph Shea described a process for closing schools, an outcome that the commission was now recognizing as an option. His source was a series of guidelines earlier established by the archdiocese of Boston. He emphasized one directive that communicated how closure should not be “a result of secret meetings or without some involvement of all publics concerned,” yet “closure should be discussed openly and frankly even at the risk of some people pushing the panic button.”¹³⁴ He was echoing the sentiment of Arrupe in his address to the American Jesuits at the founding of the JSEA. “It is you who must judge how best to proceed” with the high schools.¹³⁵ Arrupe challenged the Jesuits to “honestly ask ourselves whether we are fostering, at least implicitly, elitism based on ability to pay. If the answer is affirmative, we cannot avoid the next question: how can the situation be changed? If the situation cannot be changed, then the next question follows with ruthless

133. Arrupe, “English Province,” 34.

134. Minutes, Secondary Schools, Fusz Memorial, (7).

135. Arrupe, “De Opere Educationis,” 188 (see n. 105).

logic: cannot our energies be used more effectively elsewhere?”¹³⁶ His was an observation for which some Jesuits had concern years earlier. William J. Kerr, S.J., wrote in the *Woodstock Letters* that it was “clear that we have priced ourselves out of the market for a type of Catholic youth whose enrollment in our schools could provide our student body with a broad-based socio-economic foundation.”¹³⁷

Arrupe saw in the founding of the JSEA that the Society was “now at the crossroads ... If we neglect or fail to use such special graces, we will have no right at some later date to mourn the passing of our schools. For owing to our suicidally blind irresponsibility and lack of courage, they will have become citadels of comfortable conformity, not deserving of the support of the Christian community nor of the time and energy of men of the ‘magis.’”¹³⁸ In later reflections, Arrupe increased his pressure upon administrators, warning them about “the danger of inertia ... If some of our secondary schools, at least those which have the reputation of ‘great old institutions’ have become apostolates that are little appreciated by different groups of Jesuits, perhaps we should admit that the disenchantment of the younger, dynamic generation of Jesuits may be due in part to the failure of these institutions to adjust to the new demands of today’s Society, Church, and society at large. That Jesuit community which believes that its school has no need to change has set the stage for the slow death of that school; it will only take about one generation. However painful it may be, we need to trim the tree in order to restore it to strength.”¹³⁹ It was with that mindset that the province directors of education evaluated the high schools

136. Ibid., 187–88.

137. Kerr, “Jesuit High School,” 192.

138. Arrupe, “De Opere Educationis,” 189.

139. Ibid., “Concluding Address,” 76.

in 1969 and predicted, “Unless we change the direction of our institutions ... we will lose some of our good men ... A strong symbolic move is important because we have an urgent commitment to take measures to educate the poor.”¹⁴⁰

One place in the United States where that symbolic move took place was Campion, a highly successful Jesuit boarding school, a ‘great old institution’ in small town Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The consideration of Campion and its change of direction provide insight into the complex tension between ample opportunity and immense challenge encountered in the transformation of Jesuit secondary education in America.

140. Minutes, Province Directors, Chicago, (17).

Chapter 6

Man or Maniac? Campion Jesuit High School—A Case Study

In the mid-1960s students came from all over the United States, as well as Canada, Chile, Saudi Arabia, Korea, and the Philippines, hoping to benefit from an excellent Jesuit education. In August, with a year's worth of clothing and supplies packed in suitcases and trunks, boys flocked to Campion Jesuit High School, centrally located 178 miles west of Milwaukee, 240 miles northwest of Chicago, and 200 miles southeast of Minneapolis. Campion was nestled in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, a small town surrounded by verdant bluffs at the confluence of the Mississippi and Wisconsin Rivers. Prairie du Chien was a perfectly peaceful environment for the serious intellectual and character formation of boys who desired to become Catholic gentlemen. Parents would bring their sons by car, or the boys would arrive by the Burlington Vista-Dome Zephyrs passenger train, which had a special stop right at the 108-acre school. The impressive campus consisted of buildings both historic (the original Lawler Hall served as a hospital for Civil War veterans) and new (the Hoffman Athletic Center boasted an indoor swimming pool). Upon their arrival the boys were greeted by the large community of forty Jesuits, dressed in their religious garb of black cassocks and birettas, and were then assigned to one of several residence halls where five to eight Jesuits lived in order to accompany the students through a rigorous academic, religious, physical, and social formation process. Because the boys were in residence for four years, there was tremendous potential for the Jesuits to succeed in forming the American Catholic *insigne* at Campion.

John Lawler was the foundational benefactor of the school. He was a businessman who arrived in Prairie du Chien in 1857 to become the station agent for the new Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad. His quick success enabled him to purchase the hospital building, which he transformed into a school.¹ With rail and river, he saw in tiny Prairie du Chien the potential for its transformation into a major commercial hub of trade and transport. Securing the presence of a strong school to serve as an anchor for expansion was key to Lawler's vision. After a failed attempt to lobby the state to commit its normal school to the town, he next approached the Jesuits, who rejected his invitation. He convinced the Christian Brothers to operate the school for a short time and when they were no longer able to staff it, he approached the Jesuits a second time, but this time he pursued German Jesuits of the Buffalo mission, who accepted his offer. William Becker, the past Jesuit president of Canisius College in Buffalo, served as the first president. What was then known as Sacred Heart College opened in 1880, the main building having been named for its generous benefactor.²

Careful planning and gradual achievement over the years of its existence led the school to the summit of its success in the mid-1960s when it was known to be a superb Jesuit high school. The total enrollment of 590 students for 1965 was as impressive as the previous year's all-time school record of 598. In 1963 Campion held the highest number of National Merit scholarships in the state of Wisconsin.³ Its sports teams were superb and the Catholicity of the school revealed a thriving religious culture, noted primarily in the

1. John Lawler, Prairie du Chien College, MJA, Campion Collection, History: Prairie du Chien College 1866-1870 Folder, Box 9.

2. Sylvester J. Staber, S.J., "A Brief History of Campion Jesuit High School of Prairie du Chien, Wisc," 1972, MJA, St. Louis, MO.

3. The W.S. Hoffman Memorial Athletic Center, brochure, 1963, Campion Collection, Box 72.

successful fostering of vocations to both Jesuit and diocesan priesthood. Administrators were enthusiastic as they pondered future grand plans in anticipation of Campion's 1980 centennial celebration. However, their ambitious and hopeful vision for Campion's second century soured and ended abruptly because of unforeseen circumstances. The tumult of both social and religious change reverberated within Campion's halls and created ripple effects which required rapid adaptation for institutional stability. Campion's administration was left scrambling both to comprehend and to engage the emerging cultural and religious landscapes. They adopted significant, sweeping changes for the school as it became entangled in a complex web of challenges. However, the sheer amount of change, along with the style and rapid pace of its implementation, had the unforeseen and unintended consequence of dismantling the school's sophisticated culture and reputation in a very short period of time, which led to the rapid decline and eventual collapse in 1975 of once-highly regarded Campion Jesuit High School. Was Campion simply a thoughtless casualty of embraced change which disregarded the particular culture, context, and circumstances of the school? Or, perhaps its failure was reflective of an emerging boldness within the Society of Jesus, willing to take risks in order to adjust to the circumstances in which it found itself—a casualty whose passing enabled the Jesuits to clarify their future mission as they grappled with the question of their own Jesuit identity and the Jesuit identity of their schools.

For students at Campion in 1965, the academic year contained a tremendous variety of opportunities for learning and living together as they engaged in the ultimate labor of shedding their boyhood in exchange for becoming Campion gentlemen. For

decades, trusting parents agreed to “Give Campion a Boy, and Get Back a Man,” as the school’s slogan assured. Promotional literature declared that parents who chose Campion for their son would be providing him “a triple advantage in preparing himself for life. First, you give him a Catholic education. That means a *complete* education, designed to develop his body, his mind, his heart, and his will. Secondly, you enable him to profit by the skill and experience of the Jesuits. Thirdly, you give your boy the benefit of spending his high school years at a residential school, close to nature and far from distracting influences.”⁴

The school prided itself on the lofty goals of its student formation plan and noted the evidence of its success in the diversity of alumni like Chicago sportsman Charles Comiskey, television sitcom *Cheers* actor George Wendt, Northwestern University historian Garry Wills, and Mexico’s President Vicente Fox.

A 1930s brochure highlighted the successful formation process by presenting “a composite likeness” of the ideal Campion student. It emphasized the perfection of Catholic gentlemanliness that the school expected its alumni to exemplify as they went into the world representing the efforts and values of the Society of Jesus.⁵ “The CAMPION man is always a gentleman. He is kind, he is courteous, he is above all, thoughtful of others rather than of himself ... The CAMPION man is loyal; he is loyal to all his obligations, to himself, his parents, his school; he is loyal to his teams, he is loyal to his fellows, and as an alumnus he is loyal to his Alma Mater ... He is jovial, he is happy, he is a good fellow, but

4. “Campion: A Jesuit High School for Boys” (hereafter cited as “Campion”), undated brochure, Burns Library, JEA Collection, Campion Folder, Box 25.

5. Ibid., Campion Collection, History Accounts of Campion 1884–1940 Folder (henceforth cited as 1884–1940 Folder), Box 9.

never to be forgotten, the CAMPION man is always a gentleman.”⁶ Ultimately, the Campion man was the school’s unique contribution to the wider *insigne*, the influential Catholic elite the past Jesuit Father General Janssens desired for America. To achieve this end, this impact of student formation was to be global: the school wanted to prepare students to encounter with intelligence everything about the world in which they would live so that through such deep knowing they would more readily enjoy profound influence among those whom they would encounter.

Jesuit administrators did not recommend Campion graduates to attend non-Catholic colleges or universities, preferring instead that their efforts at Campion be sustained ideally by entrusting their students to Jesuit higher education. To keep their students within the greater Jesuit educational system was strategic on the Society’s part. Jesuits believed that such continuity provided the sustained period needed for stable formation which would best enable them to achieve their desire of forming influential alumni who would promote the Jesuit mission. For example, in 1952 Edward B. Rooney, the president of the Jesuit Educational Association, wrote to the Campion principal asking him to consider permitting the recruiter from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to visit the school, suggesting that such a visit would be mutually beneficial for both institutions. “It would be good to allow the representative of MIT to come to Campion. In a way, it is really a compliment to your school since MIT is so choosy about its applicants ... While we certainly do wish to see our graduates go to Catholic colleges, a talk from a

6. Ibid.

competent MIT man might inspire more students with the ambition to do graduate work later on at MIT. It really comes to this: that we look on MIT as a special case.”⁷

Of fundamental importance to the formational process of becoming a Campion man was the requirement for a boy to cultivate the virtues of a knightly, Catholic gentleman: Christlike virtues that were to be detected easily and discernible in the model Jesuit scholastics and priests a student would encounter on a daily basis. While courses and activities shaped students, “not the least influence upon the boy which the Jesuit high school guards carefully is that of the teachers, the members of the Society of Jesus themselves ... Many lessons are better learned from examples than from text-books. The Society exerts itself to the utmost to put into the classroom a teacher whose influence will be a constructive factor in the boys’ life. The master must so influence him that the effect will be a permanent and beneficial possession.”⁸ As the lyrics to one of the school’s songs, “Knights of Campion,” revealed, the virtuous vision was zealous and manly. “Like knights of old we pledge ourselves to you. For your ideals we’ll dare and do, with heart and soul aflame for chivalry we follow Campion the Knight.”⁹

When the January 1941 school publication, *The Campion*, announced the change in the school’s name from Sacred Heart to Campion, it was clear that the protection and promotion of both religious and manly identities was instrumental in the administration’s decision. Although the gentlemanly characteristics were easily identifiable in the saintly Edmund Campion, an English Jesuit saint who in 1581 was martyred for his Catholic faith,

7. Edward B. Rooney, S.J., to C. C. Kloster, S.J., November 5, 1952, JEA Collection, Campion Folder.

8. “Your Boy’s Position with Campion Jesuit High School,” undated brochure, Campion Collection, 1884–1940 Folder.

9. Mw. S. Mowdern, S.J., words to song document, History Songs 1900–1946 Folder, Box 9.

they were not so clear when the school was named Sacred Heart, which some Jesuits perceived as affective, feminine, and too common. Administrators felt the name *Campion* would provide “a distinctiveness of appellation which did not exist before. We do not know how many colleges and academies, male and female, exist in this country under the name we have hitherto been known by. They are too numerous to mention.”¹⁰ Distinction was not the primary motive, however. Administrators instigated the change due to the mockery experienced at various athletic events. “One of the disagreeable features of modern athletic contests between some schools is the way in which the names of some Catholic institutions—often very sacred names—are bandied about in college cries, in excited and unrestrained cheering from the grand-stand and side-lines, and in cheap exploitation on the sporting page of the daily newspaper ... we leave it to our readers to enter into our feelings on the occasions when we listened to visiting teams of a different faith or no faith at all, yelling, with the best of intentions, ‘What’s the matter with Sacred Heart?’ and answering themselves with the usual formula, ‘She’s all right!’ This, we believe, is the main reason for the alteration of our former name.”¹¹ The knightly *Campion*, in contrast, “recalls a life in which scholarly attainments, literary culture, efficiency, severely tested manhood, noble ideals and a profound religious spirit were conspicuous ... we flatter ourselves that our choice of a new name is felicitous.”¹² The name *Campion* represented exactly the characteristics the Jesuits desired for their students.

10. “History: Change of Name from Sacred Heart to *Campion* College,” *The Campion* 2, no. 4 (January 1914), brochure, *Campion* Collection, History Change of Name from Sacred Heart College to *Campion* College of the Sacred Heart Folder, Box 9.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

To best achieve the formation of this desired knightly, Catholic gentleman, Campion offered its students a rigorous and systematic high school program centered upon discipline that promoted high standards and accountability, academic excellence rooted in the classics, religious development through good example and devotion, and intentional community living. These components would enable Campion to continue in its striving for the formation of an effective Catholic elite who would display before the world a united front, most demonstrated by the school's motto: *cor unum et anima una*: one heart and one soul.¹³ Campion's structure concerned itself with all aspects of the students' lives, beginning with the organization of each day. The daily order was consuming and required serious discipline for a boy in his early teens beginning high school; it was meticulous and strict by design because of its precise formational goal, with only minor variations from year to year, season to season, and from junior division (freshmen and sophomores) to senior division (juniors and seniors).

Daily Order: Late 1940s¹⁴

- 6:15 Rise
- 6:35 First bell
- 6:40 Second bell, warning
- 6:45 Angelus, Mass
- 7:20 Breakfast
- 7:30 Smoker open; recreation; gym open; infirmary hours
- 7:45 Study Hall open; free study for those who wish
- 8:18 First bell; Smoker closed; gym closed; Study Hall open, to get books for class
- 8:23 Second bell; Study Hall closed
- 8:25 First period
- 9:10 Class ends
- 9:15 Second period

13. Earlier, when the school had a college division, the motto was "in studio labor, in labore, methodus, in methodo constantia."

14. Campion Collection, Daily Order 1947-1971 Folder, Box 11.

- 10:00 Second period ends; recess; no one in classrooms; smoker open
- 10:08 First bell; smoker closed (10:10)
- 10:13 Second bell; warning
- 10:15 Third period; Study Hall open (STUDY ONLY)
- 11:00 Third period ends
- 11:05 Fourth period; Study Hall open (STUDY ONLY)
- 11:50 Fourth period ends; Study Hall remains open; books away; wash for dinner
- 11:55 Study Hall closed
- 12:00 Angelus, grace, dinner, announcements, grace, mail, papers, etc.
- 12:30 Smoker open; gym open; library open; book store open; infirmary hours
- 12:53 First bell; smoker closed; gym closed; study hall open
- 12:58 Second bell; warning for study
- 1:00 Study hall; STUDY ONLY, day students also on arrival; library closed; book store closed¹⁵
- 1:45 End of period
- 1:50 Sixth period
- 2:35 Sixth period ends
- 2:40 Seventh period
- 3:25 Seventh period ends; study hall open; gym open; smoker open; rec begins
- 3:30 Study hall closed; P.M. mail collected; showers permitted
- 3:45 JUG sessions begin; candy store opens (until 4:40 First Friday devotions)
- 4:45 Athletic activities end for showers; free study in Study Hall
- 5:00 First bell; smoker closed; gym closed; games stopped; Study Hall open; library closed
- 5:15 Study Hall; study; free reading; letters; any student activities; profs may be seen
- 5:50 Period ends; Angelus; washroom
- 6:00 Supper: grace, supper, announcements, grace, mail, papers, infirmary open after dinner
- 6:30 Recreation; smoker, gym, library open; Confessions—Fr. Schutte—Chapel; if dark, all inside. See Frs. Hipschen, Stemper for extraordinary permissions; no one on 2, 3, 4 floors.
- 7:00 First bell; library closed; games stopped; gym closed; Study Hall opened
- 7:08 Second bell; smoker closed; prepare for Study Hall
- 7:15 Study Hall; STUDY ONLY; COUNSELLORS' HOURS; SPECIAL haircuts; no profs visited; no outside student activities
- 8:25 Any announcements made to Study Hall
- 8:30 Recreation downstairs—basement ONLY; smoker open; emergency showers; nobody outside

15. Though Campion was a boarding school, there was a very small number of day students, those who commuted to the school from Prairie du Chien and nearby towns.

In Study Hall: no recreation; study; free reading; letters; no extraordinary permissions from Frs. Hipschen, Stemper; gym not open, no one on 2, 3, 4 floors

- 8:45 Recreation stops; smoker closed; return to Study Hall
- 8:50 Deadline for Study Hall; free reading; letterwriting
- 9:25 Announcements; put books away; cleanup around desk; paper in box; silence; anybody seeing professors should return by now
- 9:30 Prayers; no recreation; leave in sections; met by prefects at head of stairs.

The slightest of alterations served solely to enliven morale during the academic year, as well as to reward and promote a growing maturity over the course of a boy's four years of high school. Upperclassmen, for example, had more privileges given in the daily order than those who had newly arrived. Indeed, the divisions of the daily schedule were a reflection of the school's ethos. Most of the students' time went into class attendance and study, about nine hours each day. Recreation and eating took about four hours of the day, while religious matters needed an hour and a half in total. Alterations to the schedule prior to 1965 reveal only the most minute of changes. In addition to the demands of a rigorous daily schedule, discipline was promoted through the Student Army Training Corps, the World War I predecessor of what eventually became known as ROTC. The meticulous daily drill exercises and classes were meant to encourage greater citizenship, civic responsibility, and pride among students—a response from American Catholics who historically had faced accusations of being unpatriotic. Promotional literature from the 1930s states that ROTC was made compulsory for Campion students “not only for the purpose of giving patriotic support to the effort the Government is making as a measure of preparedness for national defense as one of the lessons learned in the Great War, but also

because love, loyalty and duty to Country are secondary only to similar obligations owed by good Catholics to their Church and its Faith.”¹⁶

The students passed their time on a campus that more resembled a college than a high school. In its early existence, Campion College of the Sacred Heart had both college and high school departments. Recognizing the complexity involved in continuing to operate both, Jesuits began debating which to close. They came to realize the unusual and unique potential of a Jesuit boarding school in America; unlike the other Jesuit high schools, Campion had a particular niche through which Jesuits could pursue their desire for influence among the growing Catholic elite. In a June 3, 1925 telegram announcement from the provincial, the school’s president, Jesuit Aloysius Rhode, explained the reasons that the college department would be dropped: “Because of the necessarily close contact of the departments at a boarding school, they were in many ways hampering each other, and that the interests of education would be better served by concentrating all efforts on one department only.”¹⁷ He went on to explain that “the facilities offered by Catholic Colleges and Universities in many of our cities at the present time, amply supply to non-resident students opportunities for a College education which Campion has been offering in the past. On the other hand, in spite of the growth of High Schools in our cities, there is an increasing demand for Catholic boarding schools for boys in the High School grades. The future promises to change in these conditions and it is to meet these new conditions that Campion will continue its High School.”¹⁸ That 1940s Campion literature on occasion

16. “Campion,” Campion Collection, 1884–1940 Folder, 13.

17. Closing of College Department, June 3, 1925 telegram, History Closing of College Department 1925 Folder, Box 9.

18. Ibid.

referred to its high school instructors as professors could signify a remnant of its college past. It could also suggest that Campion saw itself as a cut above the ordinary American high school.

With the college division closed there was for the remaining high school abundant space and plenty of activity to keep a young man interested and occupied for the four years he was in residence at Campion. The facilities were impressive. Freshmen lived in the 1909 Campion Hall, a building which also housed classrooms and the library. To the east was the freshman gym, and then to the south was Our Lady of the Angels student chapel, a 1924 addition to the campus most known for its magnificent German stained glass windows, especially the mammoth transept windows depicting the birth of Christ and the Ascension. Next to the chapel was Marquette Hall, a building dating from 1915, where Campion seniors lived. Sophomores lived in Lucey Hall, a building opened in 1958 just south of Marquette. To the west across the field was the Hoffman Athletic Center, and to the north of the athletic center was spacious Lawler Hall, the Jesuit residence built in 1955. North of the Jesuit community was Loyola Hall, where students had taken their meals together since 1939, and Xavier residence hall, which was near the grounds where Kostka Hall stood before it burned on December 14, 1968. Xavier opened its 65 rooms in 1965, in anticipation of a continued expansion of the student population. Kostka held the administration, alumni offices, classrooms, a gym, the radio station, and a small theater.

Besides having the use of two gymnasiums and an indoor swimming pool in such close proximity to their residence halls, students at Campion in 1965 had access to many outdoor resources for recreational activity, as physical fitness and athletics were major

components of the Campion experience. On its south, east, and west ends, the campus was surrounded by a nine-hole golf course which was owned and maintained by the school. There were multiple football fields, for both practice and competition, along with several baseball and softball diamonds, tennis and handball courts, a winter skating rink and a hockey rink. East of campus the school held land in the bluffs where students could sled, ski, hike, and run. Of course, if the weather permitted, there were opportunities for boating and swimming on the Mississippi River where the Jesuit school owned a boathouse. Although students enjoyed using these facilities and engaging in these activities, in their eyes it was the success of Campion's sports teams that they deemed most important. Campion was known especially throughout the state of Wisconsin for its superb football program. Alumni were proud that Pat Bowlen, owner of the Denver Broncos, and Charles A. Comiskey, owner of the Chicago White Sox, studied on the Campion campus. Comiskey proclaimed the school to have "the best baseball park in the State of Wisconsin ... It is where I first learned to play the game of baseball."¹⁹ He said he would build Campion a gym if the Chicago White Sox ever took the National baseball title. He did not, as they never did.

In addition to the culture of discipline and the opportunities gained through such impressive campus facilities, the school offered its students a rigorous, systematic academic program. It was for this Jesuit classical system of study that Campion was most regarded.

The academic core underwent only minor changes in its history. In the late 1940s the

19. *The Campion* 3, no. 1 (May 1914), which claimed Comiskey as a student of Campion even though he attended in 1873 what was then known as St. John's College, Campion's Christian Brother-run predecessor. From St. John's College History, Campion Collection, History St. John's College 1871-1879 Folder, Box 9.

junior division students took the same classes for both years. Freshmen took Latin I, English I, algebra, ancient and medieval history, religion, speech, and ROTC military training classes. Sophomores took Latin II, English II, geometry, United States history and government, religion, speech, and ROTC military training classes. In his junior year a Champion student, based upon his performance in the first two years, would be assigned to a particular course, resulting in one of four diplomas offered by the school: the classical honors, the Latin-Scientific, the English-Scientific, and the English.²⁰

Opportunities for electives were few; the classical honors and Latin scientific courses offered a choice between a modern language or advanced mathematics for the required “minor.” The challenging classical honors course was considered the most “Jesuit” and therefore the most desired and promoted of the four, and admittance to it was based solely on Jesuit recommendation. Though they could make a request, students could neither choose which course they wished to pursue nor could they challenge their placement into a particular course. In August incoming juniors received from the principal a letter informing them of their assigned course of study as well as outlines of the core curriculum. Students were told that administrators had “carefully considered your past academic record, your potentialities and what program would be most appropriate for you individually as the best preparation for college.”²¹ Champion prided itself on its classical curriculum, which it vigorously promoted and to which it assigned the best and the brightest. “Jesuit High School education has always been characterized by its definitely classical stamp, its recommendation of Latin and Greek for students who can handle these

20. Course Offerings/Course Descriptions, Champion Collection, Office of Registrar Course Offerings Folder (henceforth cited as Course Offerings Folder), Box 11.

21. James B. Corrigan, S.J., letter for students, August 1, 1956, *ibid.*

subjects. This stand has been traditional. It is probably the most notable characteristic of Jesuit Secondary Education, the one that differentiates the Jesuit school from other school systems. It is based on the concept of secondary education as a balanced general training, combining the cultural with the practical ... without excessive specialization, to train the mind, its memory, judgment, powers of application and concentration, in preparation for the specific and specialized training of later work in college.”²² The ultimate goal was to inspire students to pursue the study of Greek, which the school literature presented as the pinnacle of Jesuit classical training. “Greek is not hard, but it does make more demands on the memory, reasoning and analytical power of the student than many others. This is precisely one of the reasons why it is retained and pursued instead of ‘fad’ subjects.”²³ Mastery of multiple languages was an ideal promoted by the school from its origins. Early in its history, because German Jesuits founded the school, German language study had been required of all students, in addition to the classical study. The 1880 Prospectus for Students states that “the knowledge of German being at present of great importance in our country, it has been deemed best to make it a study of obligation for all. Thus the best opportunity is given to all to have a full course, embracing everything, from the first rudiments of the German language, to the study of German literature ... a full course of French is optional for such students as desire to apply themselves to the study.”²⁴

In the late 1950s and early 60s the course plan was altered, but only slightly. The Latin scientific diploma was eliminated and admittance to the classical course was made

22. 1948 Curriculum Literature, *ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. College of the Sacred Heart Catalogue (1880-1881). “History—Articles of Incorporation, Including Change of Name” Folder and “History Reopening School 1898” Folder, Box 9.

during sophomore year, moving up the study of Greek by one year. This was similar to earlier emphasis on the preferred classical course, with the desire that its pursuit be even more normative, since it “offers the most efficient program of high school instruction, it is recommended for all students who have the ability to pursue it satisfactorily.”²⁵ Regardless of the course, all students took Latin for their two years in the junior division, as well as ancient and medieval history, geometry, and American history and government.

Students had at their disposal an excellent library named for Joyce Kilmer, the distinguished American poet who had developed a friendship with the Jesuit James Daly, a Campion professor of English literature. Kilmer had come to Campion several times, the last being to deliver the June 15, 1917 commencement address, “The Courage of Enlightenment.” His presentation focused on the challenges of the current time of war and his hope that the young men’s Jesuit education provided an outpouring of the virtue of courage, an increase he believed would benefit them as they entered the world. Calling himself “an adopted alumnus of Campion,” he considered the multi-faceted soldier-destiny of the young men in the room, believing they would all face crucial battles in their future lives. “The brave soldier, the successful soldier, is not an automaton but a man sufficiently enlightened, sufficiently educated, to have achieved self-mastery.”²⁶ He reminded the graduates they had received already a soldier’s training, “and it is as soldiers that you will go forth. Some of you will go, in accordance with the traditions of Catholic manhood, to bear arms against our nation’s enemies. And, in a sense, all of you go forth to battle against our

25. Course Offerings Folder.

26. Joyce Kilmer, “The Courage of Enlightenment: An Address Delivered to the Graduating Class of Campion College, Prairie du Chien, WI, in Commencement Exercises, June 15, 1917,” in *Campion’ette* 41, no. 13 (May 5, 1956): 15. I found this material in Box 13, a folder called “Joyce Kilmer Library/Kilmer Address at 1917 Graduation.”

nation's foes, although you never carry a rifle. For the forces of materialism, spiritual indifference, intolerance, cynicism, are more formidable than any blast of shell and shrapnel."²⁷ One year later Kilmer was killed in action in the First World War.

To facilitate a formation that would ensure such a solid soldier training, Campion promised to provide a protected, masculine environment, the context for "a normal, wholesome boy-life full of the things that real boys require and free from the harmful influences of the outer world."²⁸ Reassuring to parents was the promotion of personal discipline, which "while providing external safeguards for the immaturity of youth against license, is yet neither severe nor annoying in its limitations. Only such rules are observed as good order and common sense make necessary. And always there is provided a reason and a motive for obedience, thus teaching the two-fold lesson of self-restraint and personal responsibility. This, Campion maintains, is the only right theory for boarding school life."²⁹

It was a commonplace understanding that everything about Campion—environmental beauty, athletics, academics, discipline—was at the service of its Catholic identity, which the school understood to be primarily moral. A 1937 publication emphasized unabashedly, "*Campion is a Catholic school for Catholic boys*. At Campion boys are trained not only to physical and intellectual development, but to that greater and more necessary development—moral development. This training is a most essential part of the program of Jesuit education the world over; and Campion makes the most of it."³⁰ To

27. Ibid., 18.

28. "Campion College: The Better School. A Boarding School for Boys Conducted by Fathers of the Society of Jesus," brochure (hereafter cited as "Better School"), Campion Collection, 1884-1940 Folder.

29. Ibid.

30. This information just above from the 1937 publication is taken from "Kilmer and Campion," commemorative booklet acquired by author in 2006, and the section within the booklet is called "Campion ... The School." The quotation from page 36 is from here.

“make the most of it” meant not only that Catholicity permeated all parts of Campion, but also that parents and students could trust that it was the best at Catholic schooling. As a religious school, it fostered the Catholic character of its students and took quite seriously its responsibility to nurture the faith lives of the young men entrusted to it. Its mission, especially through the residential component, enabled Campion to be more diligent and intentional in fulfilling its desire to form the Catholic elite of America. The Jesuits desired to form Campion graduates “whose social-civic attitudes tend towards agreeable association with his fellowmen and to effective co-operation in the solution of community problems.”³¹ Administrators tracked the religious vocations that had come from Campion. In his 1979 historical review of the school, Jesuit Sylvester Staber counted 472 priestly and religious vocations to the Catholic Church, including five bishops, not including those who left the priesthood or religious life.³²

The daily order reflected the significance of Campion’s Catholicity to school culture and student formation. Daily Mass, recitation of the Angelus, and night prayers were the structured religious activities of the day. Additionally, there was an abundance of social and personal religious practices which supplemented these basic Catholic traditions, which included communal exercises, devotions, and the use of sacred spaces that were in existence for decades. Campion sought to cultivate what it hoped would be an ever-expanding Catholic imagination among its students. The development of the intellect was of primary importance, yet tapping into the creative, religious dimensions of the young mind was significantly formational for the Campion man, and the school labored to

31. “Your Boy’s Position,” Box 9 (see n. 8).

32. Staber, “A Short History of Campion High School, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin,” February 1979, Campion Collection, 5.

accomplish this in a variety of ways. Early promotional literature described such formation opportunities like religious sodalities, leagues, and associations that “furnish occasion for the exercise of a strong manly piety.”³³ For example, the League of the Sacred Heart, the Sodalties of the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Name Society, the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, and the Acolythical Society were used to cultivate religious identity and belonging. It was through participating as active members within religious culture that the school transformed Catholic boys into Catholic gentlemen.

Enhancing the beautiful campus surroundings were at least six outdoor religious shrines where students were encouraged to pray. Some were quite simple while others were grand and involved water features and striking landscapes. Many of these were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, while others promoted the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Saint Joseph.³⁴ All were designed by Jesuit James Hannon, whose popular shrines could be found throughout the Midwest. Of special significance to many students was the Marian fountain shrine, where for decades visiting family members would gather with their sons to take photographs. Jesuits believed that Kilmer’s poem, “Trees,” was inspired by the beautiful landscapes surrounding Campion’s shrines.

Jesuits wanted their students to experience the transcendence at Campion; the religious art and culture were their means to promote and then achieve this desire. The centerpiece of Catholic culture was the sacred space of the student chapel, Our Lady of the Angels. Features like its stained glass, religious statuary, tabernacle, and relics of Jesuit saints provided the quiet context for students to ponder the relationship between heaven

33. “Better School.”

34. Historic Shrines, Campion Collection, Box 72 Photos.

and earth. Campion desired that a student recognize he was “not merely a citizen of this or that commonwealth; he is more than that; he is a citizen of the larger commonwealth of the Kingdom of God.”³⁵ The Catholic culture embedded within the school advanced an understanding that Campion was an earthly place worthy of even the heavenly saints’ desire to visit, most evidenced by the promoted testimony of an apparition of Jesuit saints that occurred in Campion’s early history. Brother Henry Billing recorded the events surrounding the February 4, 1888 death of Sidney Bock, a Campion student who had contracted black diphtheria. Billing, as the college’s infirmarian, was assigned to care for this quarantined student. Seventeen days earlier, on January 18, 1888, three Jesuits had been canonized in Rome: Peter Clavier, Alphonsus Rodriguez, and John Berchmanns. On this particular February day the sick boy explained to the brother infirmarian that the three saints had just visited him in his room and that they planned to return at 9:30 that evening to take him with them. According to Billing’s account, the boy asked for his assistance as he prepared to meet them and then at the stated time the boy rose from his bed, stood by it, appeared ready to walk away, and then immediately dropped dead upon the floor.³⁶

This historical background suggests that institutional stability and predictability ensured that the Campion of 1965 was content with both its academic reputation and its religious identity. It anticipated smooth, predictable growth into a future that administrators predicted to be in continuity with its past, educating young Catholic boys with the aim of forming them into generous and successful Catholic gentlemen who would contribute to the expansion and effectiveness of the nation’s Catholic elite. The school

35. “Your Boy’s Position,” Box 9.

36. *Missouri Province Newsletter*, December, 1940, Miraculous Visit: History Account of Miraculous Visit by Claver, Berchmans, Rodriguez Folder, Box 9, 320.

committed itself to the continuation and completion of its “Quest of a Century” capital campaign, launched earlier when Campion celebrated its 75th year. Anticipating the centennial, administrators planned to complete a freshman division building in 1968, which would be connected to the freshman gym; a 20-room science and language laboratory classroom building to be completed in 1975; and a campus theater with an attached library complex to be completed in 1980, the centennial year. The Campion vision was naturally competitive, aiming to “keep stride with other fine independent secondary schools which are forging ahead to meet the call for greater excellence. Campion intends to make certain that its students will continue to meet the entrance requirements of the nation’s leading colleges in every respect.”³⁷ All was well as Campion positioned itself to continue its tradition of excellence as it prepared to celebrate both its centennial and its forward movement into a second century of great success.

The First Rupture: The Big Change

At the beginning of the fall semester in 1966 Campion students arrived at a school that was significantly different from the one returners had departed from in May. The school newspaper, the *Campion’ette*, captured their feeling in a cover story titled, “The Big Change.” What they described was actually a collection of multiple changes that when considered concurrently, had the effect of radically transforming the school in a single moment. It was Campion’s attempt at participating in the JSEA’s emphasis on an innovative thrust into the modern world. A desire for change at Campion had been brewing at the provincial level, for the province’s director of education, A. J. Kochanski,

37. “Quest of a century: 1880-1980,” W.S. Hoffman Memorial Athletic Center brochure, 1963, Box 72, 15.

recently visited the school and detected low morale among the Jesuit faculty and staff, and of greater concern, “the agnosticism and loss of faith that challenged Catholic students in their first years of college a while back has now found its way to seniors and juniors in high school.”³⁸ To combat “this elusive foe,” the director recommended to the provincial that changes be made in order to defend *Campion’s* religious identity.³⁹

Besides the arrival of a new rector-president, Robert Hilbert, S.J., the students’ article noted with enthusiasm and wonder that “the biggest surprise upon the students’ arrival was the number of rule changes. There were to be voluntary Mass, Bermuda shorts, and no censorship of mail.”⁴⁰ In addition to Hilbert, twelve new Jesuits had joined the faculty and staff, a substantial turnover facilitated by the provincial meant for implementing the many transitions on campus. One of the new Jesuits, Brother Larry Gillick, told the *Campion’ette* that the changes resulted from the Jesuits’ desire for students to take more responsibility for their own formation. “I am for whatever most profoundly advances the aims of the whole process of education here. If people can study better with their shoes off, burn all shoes; if optional Mass can make them more responsible Christians, never force them to attend. I’m sure many a Jesuit turned in his grave when he heard of the new *Campion*. If these changes weren’t introduced, *Campion* too would be dead, and forever turning in its grave. Hurray for the new *Campion* and hurray for the students who realize responsibilities and our desires for them” (13).

38. A.J. Kochanski, S.J., Annual Visitation Report on *Campion Jesuit High School*, December 24, 1965, JEA Collection, *Campion* Folder, Box 25, 4.

39. Ibid.

40. “The Big Change,” *Campion* Collection, Big Change Correspondence Folder (hereafter cited as Big Change Folder), Box 9, *Campion’ette* 52, no. 1 (October 1, 1966): 1.

Jesuit cemeteries must have been quaking, for it was more than clear that the intention was the promotion of a very new Campion, and the differences were far more complex than the students' interpretation of mere freedom from a rule-based environment. These alterations were monumental for the institution's evolving identity. Hilbert attempted to articulate the difference. "If people are concentrating too much on a regulation just as a regulation, it can interfere in achieving what the rule is supposed to do" (1). He told the student interviewer that freedom was now to be a greater value for the school's identity. "Of course, there must be a certain amount of order. But order is not there for the sake of discipline. It's there to achieve something desirable," which implied that promoting a culture of discipline was no longer something to be desired (1). He hoped students would hold themselves responsible for their own formation, free from the authoritative school structures that existed previously to support it. The real big change was that freedom, not discipline, was now the lens through which the school envisioned the intellectual, religious, social, and physical formation of the Campion man. Students would discover responsibility through exercising freedom. As a result, the desired Campion man would evolve naturally through his personal experiences, both positive and negative, but neither within the parameter nor with the rigidity of past regulations which were interpreted now as having been coercive and contrived. He believed that "such freedom must spring from an awareness of human dignity ... [which] requires that a man recognize the persons of others, and that he both accept their right to freedom from inference by him, and face his responsibility to develop and maintain conditions within which other

men may have true freedom.”⁴¹ In his 1967 reflections on the subject, Hilbert wrote that with regard to strict discipline, “I disagree with it. I do hold that discipline is necessary for all men to some degree, and obviously more for children than adults ... It also seems to me that our highly centralized theory of regulating conduct can be too oppressive. A youngster in a day school can get relief at home from difficulties at school, and relief at school from difficulties at home; here there is no relief, his problems are known by all, discussed by all, accumulated in a long list of offenses resulting in jugs [detention], and kept in mind among the faculty for his full four years.”⁴²

As “The Big Change” unfolded at Campion, it was clear that it was emerging in solidarity with the developing vision inspired by Pedro Arrupe, for it was just prior to the new school year that the Jesuits’ 31st General Congregation elected him general. At the beginning of the second semester in January, the Jesuit’s Wisconsin Province provincial, Joseph D. Sheehan, arrived at Campion for his annual visitation. As he assessed the changes which had already taken place during the course of the previous semester, he declared that the big change was not big enough. He insisted upon an all-encompassing study of the school’s program in order to create an environment which would better enable Campion to more rapidly and effectively read and respond to the signs of the times. “It is strongly recommended that you begin a community study of your school, its purpose, its place in education, its duty of bringing the gospel to its students, the effects of its discipline upon the spiritual and psychological life of its students, the effect of the hard and long

41. Robert Hilbert, S.J., “To Members of Boards of Regents: Some Items from the Meeting of November 21, 1969,” Campion Collection, School Policy Committee Meeting and Minutes 1969-1971 Folder, Box 7, 3.

42. Hilbert, Meeting of House Consultors, May 17, 1967, Campion Collection, Consultors Meeting 1966-1969 Hilbert Folder, Box 3.

hours of work upon the spiritual, physical, and psychological powers of our Jesuit faculty.”⁴³ During his visit to the Jesuit community he detected how the changes were already causing the Jesuits to become increasingly polarized, which he observed in the form of a “tremendous barrier between the generations here at Campion and it is splitting this community wide open despite the great amount of good will on the part of all. This age of transition demands that we unite more closely than ever before or we shall be destroyed by the rifts in our thinking.”⁴⁴

Reconciliation was wishful thinking. Since significant changes had already taken place in all areas of the school and resulted in strong disagreement, Sheehan’s insistence upon further adaptation would only deepen the divide. The school underwent an extreme makeover, as practically nothing was exempt from the experimentation sanctioned by the provincial and a stated expectation of both Arrupe and the recently assembled Jesuit congregation. The student editors of Campion’s 1971 yearbook described how “the abrupt transformation from ultraconservatism to a cautious radicalism on the part of the administration, faculty, and students, seems to have been the root of much change. One can readily view the administration’s switch in academics. It appears that there has been a change in emphasis. The emphasis is no longer placed on the teacher teaching his students, but is placed on the student learning from his teacher, text, and any other available means.”⁴⁵ The pinnacle of religious experience at the school, the Mass, was the nucleus for experimentation. The Jesuits who taught theology at Campion described how “the new

43. Joseph D. Sheehan, S.J., “A Memorial for Campion High School, January 18, 1967” (hereafter cited as “Memorial”), Community Affairs Provincial Correspondence 1964–1969 Folder, Box 2.

44. Ibid.

45. *Knight Yearbook*, 1971, Campion Collection, 32.

Jesuit, in accordance with the new spirit, will relie [sic] less on structure, set patterns, daily order, rules, and regulations, and live more according to the spirit ... His motivation has become purer and purer, full of love and spontaneity and with a minimum of fear and the oppressiveness of duty.”⁴⁶ The teachers declared, “At Campion all kind of liturgical experimentation is in order ... ignore any structure.”⁴⁷

Besides the new status of Mass being voluntary, attending students were instructed to experience it as a new form of worship; sanction-free attendance was meant to foster a deeper sense of community because it involved only those who truly wanted to participate in it. Students observed in the *Campion’ette*, “Here at Campion we have created a new form of worship. Unique to all the world, in past generations and even now. Now, the traditional stiff puritanical fire and brimstone type of God is out. He no longer sits on his altar, a deep dark mysterious tyrant, but he lives in us ... He stands next to me at Mass, he shakes my hand at the kiss of peace, he borrows a cigarette from me, and sings out of tune.” They were instructed to “Live the Mass,” a disposition which students quickly understood as a de-emphasis of the importance of the actual event. “The funny part about it is that this doesn’t happen on any Sunday of the year. Sunday morning is for sleeping, Sunday night is for TV. This happens more than once a week. Theoretically, it takes place every minute of every day in the lives of those who belong to our community.”⁴⁸

Parents were generally unimpressed. Edward Ochylski, the president of the American Meat Packing Corporation, felt betrayed by the lack of school oversight

46. Campion Fathers’ Discussion re: Position Paper, The New Spiritual-Theological Spirit, Campion Collection, Curriculum Theology Notes 1971-1973 Folder, Box 20.

47. Ibid.

48. Mark Criqui and Tom Rieckelman, “Reflection on the Mass,” *Campion’ette* 52, no. 1 (October 1, 1966).

regarding religious practice. “Although there is not a space provided on report cards for Mass attendance, I would like to have been told that my son was not attending. Maybe I would not have forced him to drink water but I would have asked him why and then told him why I attend. I sent him to Campion for education; I send [sic] him to the Jesuits to watch over him at Mass.”⁴⁹ In the Jesuit community, this liturgical issue was deeply divisive and as tensions increased Sheehan continued to remain steadfast in his desire for the school to continue to change. During his visitation the following fall he advised the Jesuits to “make this a year for encouragement. We are going through a very difficult period of adjustment in the school and community and it is not apparent to many that some very excellent moves are being made.”⁵⁰

In addition to touching upon the academic and religious experiences of the students, the big change continued to expand so that it affected the process for selecting those students who were considered worthy to receive a Campion formation. Through the admissions process, Jesuit administrators widened access to Campion so that new questions began to surface regarding whom would attend. For the very first time, in 1966, Campion began serious recruitment of African American boys. Although the notion of separate but equal remained constitutional until the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown vs. Board of Education*, many Jesuit institutions desegregated years earlier, including the second oldest Jesuit school in the country, Saint Louis University, which desegregated in 1944.⁵¹ In his study of southern Catholics and civil rights and race relations, historian R. Bentley Anderson describes how “scholars have discovered that the parochialism of Euro-

49. Edward Ochylski to Campion administration, November 18, 1971, Big Change Folder.

50. Sheehan, “Memorial,” Box 2.

51. William Barnaby Faherty, S.J., “Breaking the Color Barrier,” *Universitas*, Autumn 1987, 18–21.

American Catholics contributed to the development of racist attitudes. Paradoxically, it was this same parochialism that fostered the strong sense of community, family, and faith necessary to survive in a hostile white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant world. From this narrow and limited world, American Catholics came to address the issue of race.”⁵² Catholics sometimes applied this parochial mindset to promote racial divisions in their schools. In his study of racial prejudice in the North, historian Thomas J. Sugrue described the educational scene of the 1940s in Hillburn, an industrial town in New York that had a substantial black population. Sugrue described how town activists “took on the town’s hated ‘Jim Crow’ schools, using the same rhetoric that animated wartime protests.”⁵³ When a black uprising eventually led to the state commissioner of education overruling the town’s policy of school segregation, “all but one white student failed to show up for classes at the newly integrated Main School ... [white] parents voted with their feet and enrolled their children in two Catholic schools.”⁵⁴ Catholic schools were becoming a refuge for those resisting integration.

During this period of its history, attempts were made at Campion for a similar movement but without the same outcome. On September 21, 1945, Mrs. Samuel Byron Milton, a Catholic African American woman from River Rouge, Michigan, wrote to Campion requesting an application for her son, Byron, who would soon finish grade school at Our Lady of Lourdes, the local parochial school. Although Byron Milton would not graduate from the eighth grade until 1946, Mrs. Milton was already anticipating her

52. R. Bentley Anderson, S.J., *Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947–1956* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), xviii.

53. Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), 165.

54. *Ibid.*, 168.

son's future and believed he would benefit from a more rigorous educational experience. Given its excellent reputation, she hoped that he might be admitted to Campion in the fall of 1946.

Mrs. Milton found a Jesuit advocate in the city of Detroit: Jesuit J. E. Coogan, a Jesuit sociologist at the University of Detroit who worked with the Detroit Catholic Women's Interracial Council. On October 16, 1945, Coogan wrote to Thomas Stemper, Campion's rector-president, and recommended Byron Milton for admission. In this letter, Coogan informed Stemper of the boy's race, a fact that was until this moment unknown by Campion. He described how Byron Milton's godmother had contacted him asking for assistance. "She tells me that he is a good, bright boy, with a class average of 93 percent. River Rouge has very few colored citizens, doing its best to limit their numbers. The result is that a colored boy has very little chance for the companionship and recreation necessary to grow up normally. Our Lady of Lourdes is a day school, and after classes a colored boy is thrown on his own; in a good Catholic boarding school the resultant deficiencies would be supplied ... The mother of this boy is a Creole from Louisiana, and is—I am told—very light, as also is the boy. My informant tell me that the lad is of a Spanish type, nice looking, not at all objectionable unless any colored mixture whatever is objectionable. I surely hope that I shall be able to report a favorable reply; it will create a much needed good impression at our interracial meetings. I hope that the long waiting list at Campion will enable you to overlook any suggestion that the presence of such a colored Catholic lad would hurt your enrollment."⁵⁵

55. J.E. Coogan, S.J., to Thomas Stemper, October 16, 1945, Campion Collection, History Black Student Not Accepted Correspondence 1945-1947 Folder, Box 9.

Twelve days after Coogan wrote to the school, Thomas E. Kelly, Campion's director of registration, wrote to Mrs. Milton and advised Byron to remain at Our Lady of Lourdes for high school. Kelly noted that "a private school such as ours obtains its enrollment from families whose fathers, sons, and other relatives have traditionally sought their education here. Our first obligations are to these."⁵⁶

After graduating from the Lourdes Elementary in 1946, Byron Milton began his high school studies at Lourdes High School. Mrs. Milton again wrote to Campion, on February 5, 1947. In her letter she notes that even though Byron had applied earlier and was rejected, it was her hope that he might be admitted as a transfer student. Mrs. Milton noted how the school "wrote that it would be impossible to take him for various reasons. I am very interested in sending him to a good Catholic Prep school next September and the Sisters at Our Lady of Lourdes High School, River Rouge, Michigan, feel that I should send him to a Jesuit school ... kindly let me know if the situation has changed at all."⁵⁷ On February 13, 1947, J. P. Kramper, the director of registration, wrote that he would not be able to respond immediately to her request but that she would receive a response soon. "It so happened that your letter came just as I was leaving Campion on a trip which will keep me away for five weeks or more ... Be assured, Mrs. Milton, that you will hear from me shortly after I return to Prairie du Chien. Every best wish!"⁵⁸

Two months later, on April 11, he rejected Byron a second time, noting that the arrival at this decision was difficult for the board of admission. The given reason was that Campion simply was not ready to admit an African American student and that if the

56. Thomas E. Kelly, S.J., to Mrs. Samuel Byron Milton, October 28, 1945, *ibid.*

57. Mrs. Milton to Campion Jesuit High School, February 5, 1947, *ibid.*

58. J.P. Kramper, S.J., to Mrs. Milton, February 13, 1947, *ibid.*

school acted too quickly unfortunate consequences would result for any future student of color. "As you are aware, there is much prejudice in this country. It is unconstitutional and un-Catholic, however, the needed change of attitude must be brought about gradually and with prudence or great harm can result. At present, the day schools are doing the pioneer work with fine progress being reported; the Board, knowing the situation at Campion, feels it is not yet time for a boarding school to take the step. If we change our traditional policy too soon, the opportunity to open the door to lads of Byron's race will be set back many, many years. Be assured, Mrs. Milton, that this decision was arrived at only after many prayers had been said for guidance."⁵⁹

On April 19, 1947, Coogan wrote a scathing letter to Stemper. He described his disgust with Campion's decision to reject Milton a second time and questioned the school's position that "it is not yet time" to admit African American students while other Catholic boarding schools in the region were doing so.⁶⁰ "Last night's meeting of the Detroit Catholic Women's Interracial Council was a more humiliating experience for Jesuits and their friends. Campion's color-bar was the subject ... Is it true that 'it is not yet time for a boarding school to take the step?' Father Flynn, Rector of Saint Thomas Academy, Saint Paul, has recently accepted a colored lad from Detroit. He can hardly believe that Campion would refuse. He says his school has taken colored boarding students for at least 30 years ... is Campion not a generation behind? Father Flanagan, too, finds no least difficulty in admitting the colored to Boys Town [in Omaha] ... what insoluble problems does Campion fear if it asks racial justice and Catholicity from its select student

59. Kramper to Mrs. Milton, April 11, 1947, *ibid.*

60. Coogan to Stemper, April 19, 1947, *ibid.*

body and their traditionally notable Campion-trained fathers?”⁶¹ He also informed him that Byron Milton had been accepted to three Protestant boarding schools, one of which was a preparatory school for Harvard.⁶² Five days later, Stemper wrote to Kramper forwarding a copy of Coogan’s letter, stating that he was “quite convinced he’s [Coogan] trying to make a test-case of the Milton boy.”⁶³ Stemper assured Kramper that Campion “will stand pat in the matter. I thought you would want to know how the wind’s blowing, so that you’ll not run into a hornet’s nest in Detroit without any warning. If you care to, please feel free to change residence from the University to the High School, just a mile away.”⁶⁴

According to Samuel Byron Milton III, Byron Milton’s son and a medical doctor and professor of medicine at Emory University, after his second rejection from Campion his father attended Williston Academy (the present-day Williston Northampton School), a prestigious boarding school in Easthampton, Massachusetts. Upon graduating from there he enrolled at Harvard University in 1950, a resident of Adams House. Eventually he stopped medical studies at Northwestern University in order to complete a degree in hospital administration at the University of Michigan. He directed the hospital in River Rouge, which was founded by his father, a medical doctor who studied at Brown and Northwestern universities. By hobby, he was a passionate car racer, and was killed in a 1973 car accident at the US 30 Drag Strip outside of Gary, Indiana.⁶⁵

It was in 1967, nineteen years after the rejection of Byron Milton, that the first blacks were admitted to Campion, part of the big change at the school. Perhaps in 1967

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Stemper to J.P. Kramer, S.J., April 24, 1947, *ibid.*

64. Ibid.

65. Samuel Byron Milton III, personal phone conversation and email exchange, March 28, 2013.

the Jesuits at Campion made the change in order to be more properly engaged with the modern world, and to correct the institution's past mistakes with students like Byron Milton. In his annual letter to Arrupe, the school's president reported however, that Campion had "tried for several years to bring at least a few negro students into the school and last year succeeded in getting four. They are working out very well. This was not done in an attempt to improve the educational opportunities for negroes, but to try to acquaint our white students with the fact that negroes are persons. Having at least a few living with them, I hope, will help break down their prejudices."⁶⁶ One of the African Americans who began was an inspired junior who transferred to Campion from Saint Louis—Harold Brooks.

The Second Rupture: To Pig With Love

In 1968 Harold Brooks transferred to Campion from Beaumont High School in Saint Louis. The year before Campion admitted three freshmen, its first African American students. This year Harold Brooks and another transfer student, Donald Hudson, entered Campion, thus making them in 1970 the first African American boys who would graduate from the school. Prior to his arrival at Campion, Harold lived in North Saint Louis, a predominantly African American section of the city. At that time a group of young Jesuit scholastics in studies at Saint Louis University founded a Jesuit community they called North House which was located in Harold Brooks' neighborhood. The establishment of Jesuit communities like Saint Louis' North House in poor sections of cities in the United States was somewhat common at this time. It was an outward sign of the Jesuits' attempt to

66. Hilbert to Arrupe, February 25, 1968, Campion Collection, Annual Letters to Father General Folder (hereafter cited as Father General Folder), Box 1.

demonstrate a preferential option for the poor. The hoped for outcome was to foster a more intentional relationship with the poor through direct contact, and younger Jesuits in formation occupied these houses predominantly. Historian Garry Wills was critical of this move, observing that some Jesuits who were attracted to these communities “find it easier to get absorbed in things like drug rehabilitation and the peace movement ... the trouble with this is that it leads many to treat the city as therapy for themselves rather than a field for any coordinating apostolate.”⁶⁷

Jesuits befriended the Brooks family and when doors opened for African Americans to study at Campion, North House Jesuits encouraged Harold Brooks to apply there and he was accepted. As he progressed in his studies at Campion, he sensed a need to establish some sort of support system for the African American students, as there were no black teachers, counselors, or mentors on campus. In the rush for admission, administrators neglected to consider the very real need for black adults to accompany and inspire the incoming students in the challenging transition to boarding school life. Several African American Jesuits made occasional visits to Campion, but this did not diminish the real need for continual onsite mentoring and good example. With the encouragement of a Jesuit on campus, Patrick Connelly, Harold Brooks established a student organization called “BLAC,” the Black Action Cell. The 1970 yearbook described it. “This was the year of the Black student at Campion. They accomplished quite a lot, but not quite enough. Under the leadership of Hal Brooks and Brian Mitchell the Black Action Cell made itself known. The Black students on campus have clearly shown that they are ... and have proven

67. Garry Wills, *Bare Ruined Choirs: Doubt, Prophecy, and Radical Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 201.

that they are, Black men aware of their responsibilities in changing the dead end course of this chaotic society and nation. Yes, the brothers here are together and strangely bonded. They are representatives of Black communities in Chicago, Saint Louis, Minneapolis, Detroit, and Omaha. They are strong. They are unified. They have a Black bond holding them.”⁶⁸

BLAC had its own meeting space on campus and would organize socials, visiting lectures, talent shows, dances, and discussions on campus. Because of the nature of the organization, Brooks had permission to travel to Madison on occasion to visit with University of Wisconsin African American students.⁶⁹ The relationships fostered there enabled him to gain membership for Campion in the Wisconsin Establishment of Black Students (WEBS), a group of college students concerned with the status of African Americans on campuses throughout the state, making Campion the only high school admitted to the group and establishing a firm connection between Campion and the radicalism of the times on college and university campuses. WEBS gatherings stoked the energy of happenings in the cities of Madison and Milwaukee and brought it to college campuses in Wisconsin, including Campion’s campus in Prairie du Chien. It was in Madison that Harold Brooks had the opportunity to meet Fred Hampton of the Black Panthers, who came to the university for a presentation on the Black Power movement.

68. *Knight* yearbook, 1970, Campion Collection, 79.

69. In a March 28, 2005 interview, Harold Brooks admitted that he would on occasion hitchhike from Prairie du Chien to Madison, without permission, in order to visit his friends at the University of Wisconsin.

On the night of December 4, 1969, Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton, 21, and Mark Clark, 17, were shot and killed by police as they slept in a Chicago apartment.⁷⁰ The deaths sparked outrage among many African Americans who found inspiration in the young radical Panthers, including several of the young boys studying at Campion, among them Harold Brooks. His Campion roommate, an editor for the school's newspaper, asked him to write something about the brewing situation, knowing Brooks' recent interaction with Hampton in Madison. Nine days later "To Pig With Love" was published, a poem criticizing the police and the circumstances leading to Hampton's death.⁷¹

The Monday, December 22, 1969 headline in the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald proclaimed "Black's Poem Brings Racial Tension to Campion."⁷² Alumni, parents, and friends subscribed to the *Campion'ette*, so word of the controversial poem spread quickly. The paper had been distributed at Campion on Friday, December 12, while the African American students were off campus for a workshop. When they returned later in the weekend, several fights erupted between black and white students. Tensions increased the following Wednesday when at a basketball game on campus, some African American students refused to stand for the playing of the national anthem while others, according to the Telegraph-Herald, "turned from the flag and raised their hands in the black power salute" (6). In the Dubuque newspaper, Hilbert defended Harold Brooks' poem as a "dignified, honest piece of literature," and observed that the style was an accepted literary form in African American culture (6). He sympathized with all of the African American

70. Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Life Upon These Shores: Looking at African American History 1513–2008* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 387.

71. Harold Brooks, "To Pig With Love," *Campion'ette* 55, no. 5 (December 13, 1969): 7.

72. "Black's Poem Brings Racial Tension to Campion: Won't Bow to City Pressure, Says President" (henceforth cited as "Black's Poem"), *The Telegraph-Herald*, December 22, 1969, Campion Collection, Hal Brooks Folder, Box 24, 6.

students at Campion, which he declared to the Telegraph-Herald to be “a white racist school in a white racist society,” and he interpreted the students’ lack of respect for the American flag as justified (6). “If my saluting the flag means that I approve of the situation in this country, I shouldn’t salute the flag either” (6).

At issue was the content of the poem, which many deemed to be both threatening and obscene, calling for black revolution against whites, especially the police, advising them to “take your fucking panel discussions, round tables, concerned citizens, national riot commissions, and stick them up your asses” (7). So concerned were some parents that they decided to withdraw their sons from Campion at the semester break. So upset was the local bishop in La Crosse, Wisconsin, that he wrote a letter to the school expressing his disappointment that such a poem would be printed in a Catholic high school newspaper. “To say that I am shocked by the poem and even more so by your defense of it, is to put it very mildly!”⁷³ So threatened were some of the townspeople of Prairie du Chien by what they perceived to be an imminent attack by the Campion blacks that the administration had to call community meetings to calm their concerns. Harold Brooks received numerous threats, both from the high school community and the town of Prairie du Chien. Throughout the ordeal there was tremendous pressure placed upon Hilbert, who labored to maintain institutional stability while at same time clarifying his stance to the Dubuque paper, “If my position closes the school, it closes the school.”⁷⁴

Five days after the poem was published, a weathered Hilbert sent a five-page letter to Campion parents, originally intended to serve as the school’s annual Christmas greeting,

73. Frederick William Freking to Hilbert, December 24, 1969, Campion Collection, Hal Brooks Folder.

74. “Black’s Poem,” 6.

but instead focused on the difficulties and challenges of those recent days following the publication of the poem. In his letter he revealed that numerous fights and intimidations had occurred on campus and that significant divisions had developed among the students. Several anonymous threatening notes were placed under the bedroom doors of African American students or posted on common bulletin boards in the residence halls, presumably by white students. One communication observed that three white students had been beaten by black students while they discussed Brooks' poem and lamented that the Jesuit prefects did not come to their assistance. "The Jesuits have permitted black students to stay up after lights out on very numerous occasions, and after everything was over last night kindly asked them to retire, which they refused to do—and nothing else was done. If the Jesuits follow their usual pattern, and do absolutely nothing, then the students will be forced to take matters into their own hands."⁷⁵ Another note from the "Campion Chapter of the Nazi Party" declared a white revolution and that the writers were "staunch racists, and damn proud of it."⁷⁶ The note warned that "the 'NIGGERS' can shove the whole BLACK REVOLUTION up your funky booties."⁷⁷

Sensing the escalating polarization, in his letter Hilbert appealed to Christian reconciliation, reminding those affiliated with Campion of the basic Christian understanding of love of neighbor, an understanding that he believed had failed as a result of the tensions at the school. Hilbert observed that "the racial situation brings out very sharply that we here at Campion ... have failed for years to get across the most basic tenet

75. Anonymous, "To Pig With Love?," Campion Collection, The Poem Controversy Correspondence 1969 Folder (henceforth cited as Poem Folder), Box 9.

76. Anonymous, "Time, 1969," Poem Folder.

77. Ibid.

of Christianity, that we absolutely must learn to love other men, even our enemies, as brothers. It is a failure we cannot continue to ignore.”⁷⁸ He believed that the racial tension held greater significance for the school. “For us at Campion, it is a question of whether or not we will become a more fully Christian school.”⁷⁹ Later, on January 30, 1970 he issued publicly a 12-page single-spaced typed line-by-line analysis of the poem, intending to promote a deeper understanding of it, and suggesting those who found it offensive were lacking in the literary sophistication needed to create a fair interpretation of Brooks’ words. Hilbert noted that the student publication policy had been changed that year, making it a newspaper “by students and for students—not for others. If others want to read it, they are welcome to do so; but it is not for them that it is written nor for their needs that its policy is set. And I reflect that if our public cannot accept such literature as it is acceptable among well-educated blacks, then it is not the writer’s fault nor the school’s fault that those people do not have this degree of cultural development.”⁸⁰ Near the conclusion of his analysis he lamented the lack of reception to the Kerner Commission’s summary of the history of efforts for racial equality and he expressed his own overwhelming sense of guilt in failing to realize more fully the struggle of African Americans. He wrote, “I can hardly stand the revelation of myself that is building up—the utterly stupid, blind glibness of a priest for years in the presence of black brothers, who have so patiently tried to lead me and who must possess a depth of charity and forbearance I cannot even comprehend.”⁸¹ As he

78. Hilbert to parents, December 18, 1969, *ibid.*, 4.

79. *Ibid.*, 3.

80. Hilbert, “The Poem in the ‘Ette” (hereafter cited as “Poem”), January 30, 1970, Poem Folder, 4.

81. *Ibid.*, 8. Copies of the document “White Racism and the Common Man: An Extension of the Kerner Commission’s Report on American Racism,” by Tommy M. Tomlinson of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, DC, April 11, 1968, were documented in the archives and other documents state that this article was either sent home to parents or available to them.

concluded Hilbert addressed Brooks directly. “Hal, a week ago, which seems a lifetime now, I said I thought anger and frustration could better be expressed without impolite words—how shallow a judgment I made! I apologize to you.”⁸²

Hilbert eventually stepped down from the presidency at Campion in 1970 but remained the rector of the Jesuit community until 1973. In his reflection to Jesuit advisors within the school, he shared his tepidity toward Jesuit secondary schooling, opining that he and other Jesuits were increasingly “of the opinion that our high schools as they are now are not a satisfactory apostolate for Jesuits ... our educational contribution is less necessary for the Church and for American society.”⁸³ Early in his tenure as president he believed that Campion could “continue more or less as it is, a good college prep school of a fairly traditional and conservative approach ... I do not think the province will be greatly interested in continuing its operation” (2). He was aware that compared to the Jesuit high schools in urban centers, “we do not have the opportunities a city school has to work on interesting programs affecting the social problems that are currently in people’s thoughts. The chief opportunity that we have to work with ... is the presence of students in our school 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. At present the only part of our program that utilizes this advantage is the sports program. Academically, we run a program almost identical with that of hundreds of other schools” (3). It was his intention as president to challenge Campion students to take advantage of the unique residential component of the school by replicating and then exposing them to the complicated cultural realities that were taking place in American cities. He didn’t want Campion to be used by parents as a source of

82. Hilbert, “Poem,” 9.

83. Hilbert to Consultors, undated, Campion Collection, Consultors Meeting 1966-1969 Hilbert Folder, Box 3, 1.

escape for their sons, a significant departure from Campion's earlier selling point that highlighted it for being a boarding school free from "the harmful influence of the world."⁸⁴ Without a big change, Hilbert believed the school would become stagnant and formationally irrelevant.

As he progressed in the presidency, fervor for change and disregard for the pace of its implementation complicated his vision because it alienated people. For example, regarding religious practice at the school, he cast Campion parents as being "in line with the failings of the Pharisees. By way of illustration, we speak of the concern of parents about insuring that their sons get to Mass on Sundays, even weekdays. Yet it seems that many of these parents do not show comparable concern that their sons learn to practice racial justice." Social issues became a greater urgent priority for the administration, and at the expense of fostering the school's traditional religiosity. Hilbert saw it as highly problematic that parents and students had "some rather unchristian attitudes on matters of admittedly greater importance. In so far as this general judgment is true, it seems to me to be a bad distortion of the meaning of Catholicity, and a distortion which we must counteract."⁸⁵

It was a significant risk to the stability of Campion when Hilbert decided "to change radically our operational self-concept" through "pioneering instead of waiting for others to do the initial experimentation and testing."⁸⁶ From the beginning, he was aware that "such a course would require a great deal of imagination and courage, and would run

84. "Better School" (see n. 28).

85. Hilbert, Concerning the Question of Checking Sunday Mass Attendance: Religious Formation Council Before 1973, Campion Collection, Prairie du Chien Committee Folder, Box 7, 3.

86. Ibid., "1966 Consultors. Our Philosophy of Education," Campion Collection, School Policy Committee Folder, Box 7.

great risk of failure.”⁸⁷ In a later reflection after implementing the big change he suggested that change was best facilitated through persons rather than institutions, which he saw as hopelessly stagnant. “Even the entire faculty of a school as individuals, can be prophetic, can teach and proclaim the claims of righteousness in confrontation with the non-religious values and customs of society. The institution cannot.”⁸⁸

Despite this dour outlook upon institutions, the experiments continued, which deepened the division within both the immediate and extended school and Jesuit communities. Upon completing his Campion visitation in 1969, Jesuit delegate R.A. Bernert reported his impression of the perplexing complexity resulting from the changes to John F. Snyder, the province director of studies. “The perduring problem seems to exist between the more ‘liberal’ members of the faculty and administration, and some articulate parents who appear to have quite rigid ideas of discipline and/or memories of the ‘iron’ days when they attended the school. They want this type of discipline to be imposed on their sons now by the school when, in many instances, they have not done it themselves in their homes.”⁸⁹ Snyder noted the growing criticism within the Jesuit community, mostly abrasive “generalizations as ‘Campion should stop enrolling sons of rich middle class people because middle class values are un-Christian’” (2). The fruit of such thinking was deep alienation because more traditionally-minded Jesuits recognized the value of the middle class for greater influence in fostering the Society’s Catholic mission. “The content of what is being attempted at Campion in the liturgy, in general discipline etc. is made

87. Ibid.

88. Hilbert, “A Philosophy of Education for Campion by Bob Hilbert, S.J.,” undated, Campion Collection, School Policy Committee Meetings and Minutes, 1972 Folder, Box 7.

89. John F. Snyder, S.J., “Observations on Visit to Campion January 13, 1969,” Campion Collection, Community Affairs Provincial Correspondence 1964–1969 Folder, Box 2, 1.

unpalatable to the more conservative (but very loyal to Campion) members of the faculty” (2). Additionally, Snyder expressed dismay with the diminishing academic rigor he detected, noting that course syllabi were nearly nonexistent. “Permitting such a practice is a sure way to a rapid disintegration in the entire quality of instruction” (2). When Joseph Sheehan, the provincial, visited Campion during the fall semester of 1970 he detected “pessimism, gloom, and depression in many of the persons living at Campion. This was due possibly from the split in the community which is still present ... Somehow or other the virtue of hope must be engendered.”⁹⁰

The divisions within the Jesuit community were increasingly significant and touched upon the ongoing struggle with identity, both with regard to the Jesuits themselves and the Jesuitness and Catholicity of their schools. What was happening at Campion was echoed at Jesuit schools around the country and throughout the world. The historical purpose of the Society of Jesus and therefore its apostolic works—the defense and propagation of the Catholic faith—seemed to be trumped by the promotion of social justice and the prominence of place within Campion of implementing the preferential option for the poor. The specific effort of forming the Catholic *insigne* of America was of declining concern. Jesuit Larry Kerrigan, a religion teacher at Campion, suggested to the school administration that public promotion of Campion’s Catholicity be adapted to meet the changing times. “Another untapped area is changing this school from a Jesuit Residential High School for Catholic Boys to a Jesuit Residential High School or College Preparatory for Christian Leadership, or for Tomorrow’s Leaders, or something of the kind to make it

90. Sheehan, “Visitation of Campion High School, November 30–December 4, 1970,” 1964–1969 Folder.

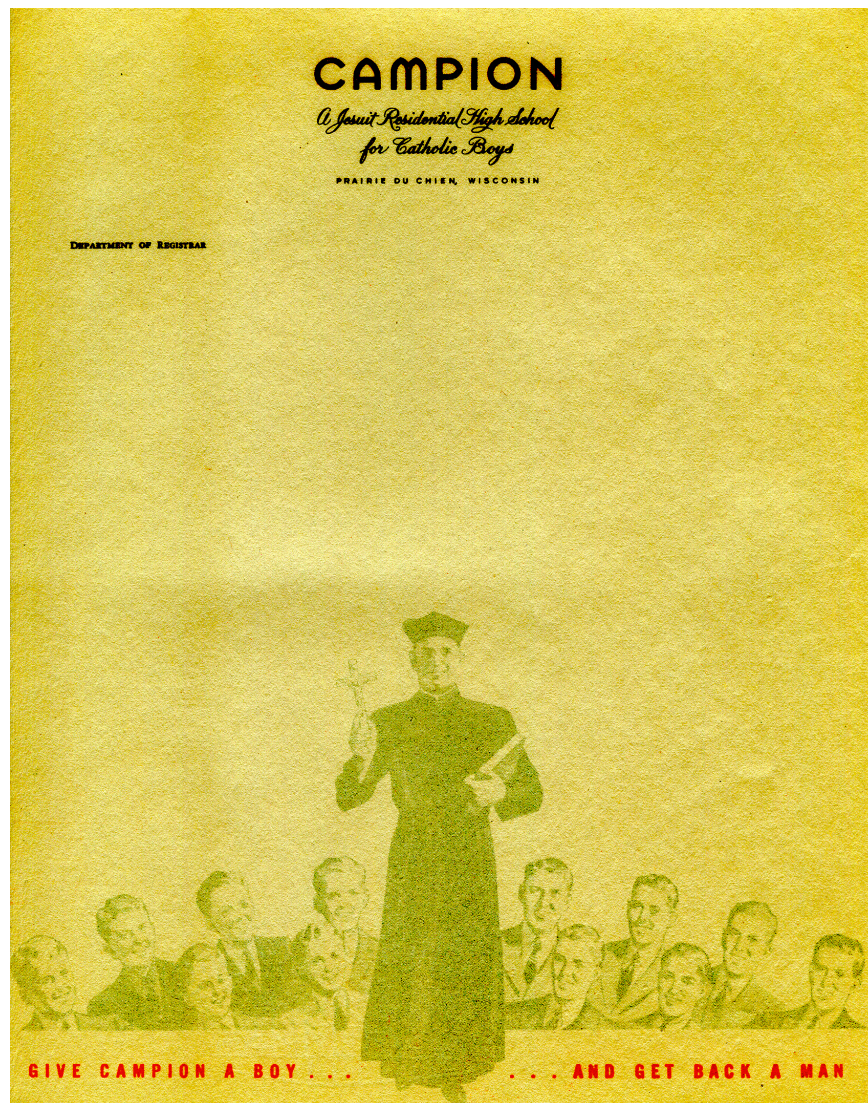
acceptable for a Jewish clientele.”⁹¹ Kerrigan emphasized what he saw as a benefit to his proposed change in emphasis, believing “there are many non-Catholic parents who want their children to get a bona fide religious value system, an ethical or moral motivational value structure of some kind, but they do not want them to have ‘Roman’ Catholic dogma crammed down their throats.”⁹² In a later memo Kerrigan emphasized that the school’s public relations material be more specifically adapted, suggesting “that the stationery get rid of the ‘Catholic’—think a Jesuit Residential High School is quite enough. And has the nebulous, backgroundish, cassocked figure on the large stationery finally ascended to the Father??!! Hope so. Suppose ‘Give a Boy etc.’ is sacrosanct, but mebbe a lighter ink could be used?”⁹³ By removing both the Catholic identifier and the “nebulous” Jesuit person while emphasizing the adjectival Jesuitness of the school, Kerrigan believed Campion would appeal to a more diverse clientele. The administration agreed and made the changes.

Campion Letterhead Pre-1965

91. Larry Kerrigan, S.J., “Some Random Thoughts: Memo to Fr. Hilbert, Fr. Lucey, Mr. Boor”, July 27, 1969, Campion Collection, Theology Notes 1971-1973 Curriculum Folder (henceforth cited as 1971-1973 Curriculum Folder), Box 20.

92. Ibid.

93. Kerrigan, “A Few Random Thoughts: Memo to Fr. Hilbert, Fr. Lucey, Mr. Boor ... not necessarily in that order,” undated, Campion Collection, 1971-1973 Curriculum Folder.



Campion Letterhead
Post-1965



It was a complicated context for Hilbert's successor to embrace as the new president. Campion alumnus Gregory Lucey, S.J., class of 1951, became the president in 1970 at the young age of thirty-eight. As he began his tenure as president, Lucey assessed the current state of the school, crediting his predecessor with establishing the foundation which was continuing to transform the school. "Under Father Hilbert's leadership, Campion has come at least 'two blocks' since Father Sheehan asked this community to take a hard look at itself and begin to up-date. Minority students have become an essential part of the Campion community at least in my view if not always in theirs; almost every course in the program has undergone a radical change or been dropped; almost every teacher has revised his approach to teaching and his techniques ... the life style of students and faculty has moved from rigid structure to a more fluid, relaxed form of life. Convinced that the old system of responsibility through regimentation was ineffective and less than humane, we have made great strides toward finishing the mean between freedom and responsibility."⁹⁴ He acknowledged that "the difficulties have been great. Racial crisis, disenchanted parents, enrollment decline, financial losses have brought us to the brink of death. We took our stand on race; we made great efforts to educate our parents and alumni; we have sought and found parents who accept our goals, our Christian vision of life" (1). Yet there was something missing within the Jesuit community—something of significance that touched upon the identity of the Jesuits themselves. Given the accomplishments, "we should be happier with ourselves but we are not" (1). Polarization was a real dilemma for him as president and he spoke bluntly to the Jesuits about a future that could well bear the

94. Gregory Lucey, S.J., Memo to Members of Campion Faculty and Administration, November 12, 1971, Campion Collection, History—Reevaluation of the Campion Aim 1972 Folder, Box 9, 1.

school's demise. "Unless we get ourselves together we are going to close our doors upon ourselves. We are going to negate all the blood, sweat and tears of the last few years, not to speak of the eighty-six years before our time. I really believe we are again faced with a question of survival" (3).

The Third Rupture: The Dilemma and Collapse

Early in his presidency in 1971 Lucey wrote a memo to the teachers at Campion where he clearly identified what he perceived to be a major tension at the school: the faculty members were completely divided and he found himself in the awkward and nearly impossible position of trying to provide a unifying vision for the institution that everyone could agree to support. "This is the dilemma: we need to get ourselves together now so we can get on with the work and the planning for the future, so people can decide whether to stay or leave. Yet I do not see this faculty, after five years of trying, suddenly getting down to the task of setting its direction if we continue the procedures we have followed. I question to some degree whether there is sufficient commitment to Campion and the people who make it up to enable us to hammer out a philosophy that all will agree to live by should it not conform to their thinking."⁹⁵ From his viewpoint regarding faculty cohesiveness and effectiveness, it was to be all or nothing. "No group within our community has been offered and accepted the charge of carrying on the educational apostolate of Campion. We could all go our separate ways on May 30 and let whoever comes in pick up the pieces, should they so desire" (3).

95. Lucey, "The Dilemma," December 13, 1971, Campion Collection, School Policy Committee 1972 Folder, Box 7, 2-3.

Of tremendous concern to the president was the perceived need for Campion to have a “philosophy of education.” The past years of experimentation brought to the school an unfocused curriculum with many styles of teaching and many different outcomes, the fruit of which was complete disagreement among the faculty about the kind of young man Campion aspired to form and astonishingly, even the purpose for Campion’s existence. Some in the school community looked to the president to clarify the precise educational direction in which Campion was to move. He labored to articulate the centrality of the presidency, noting that while the rector and provincial held authority over the school in the past, “the nature of the beast has changed. The provincial no longer tells a school community what policies it should follow” (1). In response, he felt it was “the responsibility of the president to spell out the direction Campion will pursue” (3). However, others labored simultaneously in opposition for an even more vigorous dismantling of any possible remnant of what they perceived as centralized hierarchical authority. They believed that decentralization gave them at the grassroots classroom level more freedom and leverage to better serve the diverse formational needs of each individual student. These competing desires among the faculty and administration paralyzed the presidency. Lucey was well aware of the challenges of the time: the complexities and influences of American society, the major transitions occurring within the Roman Catholic Church, and the ongoing renewal of the Jesuits. Like Hilbert, he believed all of this was unfolding at Campion within an increasingly complicated American context, “in which religious people have shown more concern with trivia and ceremony than for justice and human suffering; in which the government is more concerned about classifying information than informing

the electorate. We are a society more involved in finding escapes from reality than in facing reality.”⁹⁶

It was no easy time to be a leader, for authority was viewed with suspicion and often dismissed as untrustworthy, yet he recognized that the task of articulating a vision for the school and reassuring Campion’s constituents fell upon him. In a statement to the faculty written several weeks later, he revealed the tensions he felt, given the confusing position in which he found himself. “I am the leader of this group, I must stand out from the group, as the face of the group toward the goal and as the face of the goal toward the group. I feel there are so many areas needing attention, I find it impossible to cover all at this time. I do not feel my position is perfectly clear even to me. What I think needs the qualification and clarification that comes only through communication, confrontation, and even conflict” (1-2). Division, therefore, would continue.

Lucey identified as the primary goal of the school the instillation of a variety of values into the lives of Campion students. He called attention to academic competency as being of great importance, yet the school needed to impart knowledge while being sensitive to the individual differences of each student, “differences in ability, interests, background, motivation, style of learning” (3). Campion was to foster the Christian dimension of life, and the president called upon the faculty and staff members to model the unity that was necessary to communicate a Christian wholeness to the students. Particular Christian values to be emphasized included “the need to work for the humanization of our society, the effort to assist others to develop to their fullest potential, the concern in this effort for

96. Lucey, “Statement of the President: January 4, 1972,” Campion Collection, School Policy Committee 1972 Folder, Box 7, 2.

the individual. All this we do in confidence and hope that it is truly possible through the power of the Spirit that man can be redeemed and that it is done by the Spirit, in and through the efforts of men” (4). Finally, he observed the sensitive issue surrounding group dynamics within the Campion faculty and Jesuit community. To instill greater cohesion he hoped to promote “participatory governance” at Campion, in order to foster an environment where individual faculty and staff members took responsibility and felt ownership for the vision of the school, but did so communally so that everyone was united in purpose. He told his faculty and staff that they could “never work together with full effectiveness to attain any goal, until we are able to commit ourselves to each other responsibly” (5). Lucey observed that the surrounding culture made them “sufficiently tainted by the rugged individualism of our American heritage ... we cry out to be heard but shun the responsibility to the group in favor of freedom—freedom to do our thing.” He saw this individualism as potentially destructive and identified it as equally damaging as the racism the school was confronting simultaneously. “Two years ago we struggled with the fact that racism permeates each of us. We vowed to eradicate it from our being and from our institution. Today we must recognize, as equally deteriorous, the rugged individualism we have inherited and nurtured in others” (5).

Unfortunately, the effects of this climate was neglect of Campion’s students, which harmed their idealism. They became cynical and disillusioned while matriculating because faculty members were preoccupied trying to discern their own purpose. The faculty expressed concern with “boys who drift off, not seeing any adult for long periods of time,” a curious observation considering Campion was a boarding school where adults and

students were supposed to interact throughout the day.⁹⁷ In 1968 Campion, along with other Jesuit high schools, participated in the JEA-sponsored Fichter Survey and the results confirmed the suspected disillusionment. As they grew at Campion, by far the majority of seniors who participated in the survey believed that the school did very little or nothing at all to help them foster a greater love of God. Seventy-one percent said they received Holy Communion much less often than before they arrived at the school and almost a quarter felt that teachers had taken very little interest in them as students.⁹⁸

In a letter to a communication specialist from Saint Louis he was recruiting to help the faculty, Lucey described the context the specialist would encounter at Campion. He emphasized the sweeping transformation that had taken place and the resulting instability that came when “the winds of change began to move through the campus.”⁹⁹ Having described the old Campion as “a very typical, traditional, Catholic, Jesuit, semi-military, residential school for white middle and upper-middle-class Midwestern clientele,” he presented the winds of change as racial, curricular, and disciplinary, yielding “freedom and responsibility for both students and faculty.”¹⁰⁰ He did not mention that the storm’s aftermath decimated much of the school’s population. In academic year 1974–1975 there were only 293 students at Campion, a 50 percent drop in enrollment from 1965: 76 freshmen, 85 sophomores, 72 juniors, and 60 seniors. Of that total, 30 were African Americans, a very new population for the school. Notably, the upperclassmen were fewest

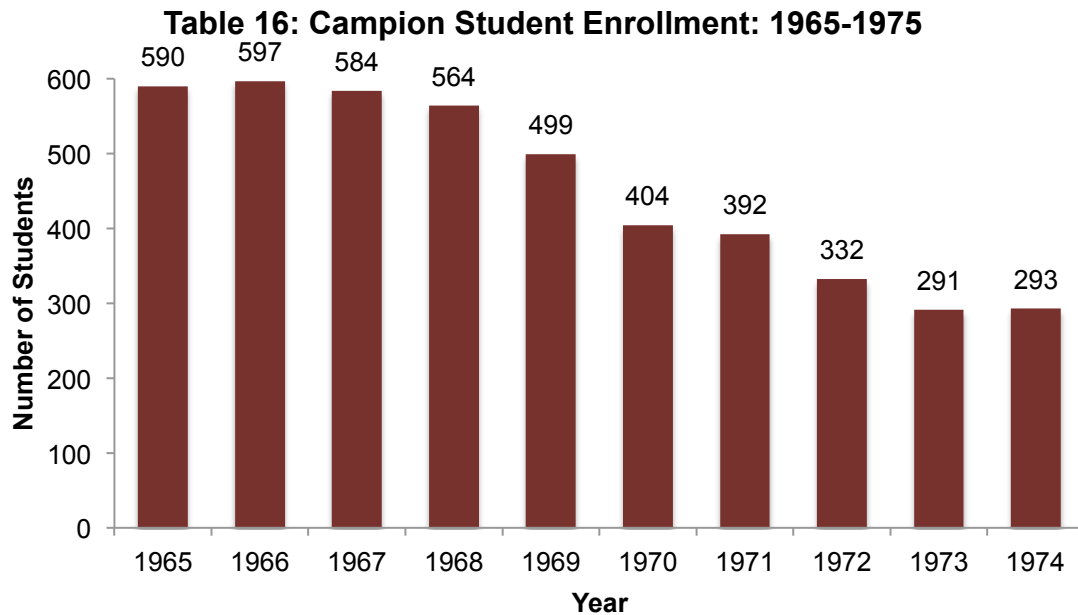
97. Notes from Faculty Meeting Before Christmas, 1971, Campion Collection, School Policy Committee Meetings and Minutes 1972 Folder (hereafter cited as School Policy Folder), Box 7.

98. Fichter Survey 1968 Marginal Tables, Wisconsin Province, Copy of the Province Director of Education, Campion Collection, Province Prefect of Studies Box.

99. Lucey to Dr. Joseph Connolly, March 2, 1972, Campion Collection, History Criticism of Campion and Responses 1969–1976 Folder (hereafter cited as 1969–1976 Folder), Box 9.

100. Ibid.

in number, suggesting a very high rate of attrition, for the longer a young man attended Campion, the more likely it was that he would withdraw:¹⁰¹



Different factors contributed to the decline in Campion’s enrollment. Some were beyond the school’s control. For example, gone were the Burlington Zephyrs that made special stops on the campus. The shift in national transportation away from trains meant that the school was now dependent upon chartered buses to move students to and from campus, a task often burdensome and complex. A more complicated factor was a loss of confidence in the school by alumni and parents. For example, on December 1, 1970, one mother wrote that she couldn’t “dispel the concerned, apprehensive feeling I have about Joe attending Campion.”¹⁰² She wrote out of concern for what she saw as a lack of Catholic resources in her son’s religion course. When she and her husband approached the Jesuit teacher, Larry Kerrigan, “we were told ... that he is ‘deliberately trying to shatter their Faith’

101. NCEA Standard School Survey Forms, Campion Collection, NCEA Report Folder, Box 7.

102. Claire Hutter to Lucey, December 1, 1970, 1969-1976 Folder.

in anticipation of the ideas they will be exposed to when they get out in the world ... we found out this weekend that the next topic they will discuss, is a series of interviews with people such as Joan Baez, Jesse Jackson, etc. as presented in PLAYBOY Magazine! Perhaps, I should wait to pass judgment on this assignment until I know for what purpose it is given. But by the wildest stretch of my imagination, I can't see the merit in studying a source such at this."¹⁰³ In his response, Lucey told her that Kerrigan instructed her son to present the articles to her, which were "not given to the boys with the whole copy of Playboy; these are reprints ... Rather than be turned off by the fact that they happen to appear in Playboy, I would like you to look through them and pass judgment on whether or not they are not of value."¹⁰⁴

As the decline continued, Lucey understood the need for more positive public relations in order to ensure the school's protection. In a July 2, 1973 memo to the faculty, Lucey recognized "if Campion is to remain an option in education it must not rely only on its faculty and staff to determine what qualities a Campion graduate should possess, but must be sensitive to the attitudes of the student body, parents, alumni and friends. If these publics are not confident in what Campion offers then Campion will not exist. The attrition rate (average attendance at Campion—2 ½ years) indicates that these publics do not have much confidence."¹⁰⁵ Major questions about the school's religious commitment and identity continued to surface, as did criticism of the academic program.

Not only were the numbers of students down, so too was the membership of the Jesuit community—those priests, scholastics, and brothers who lived and worked at

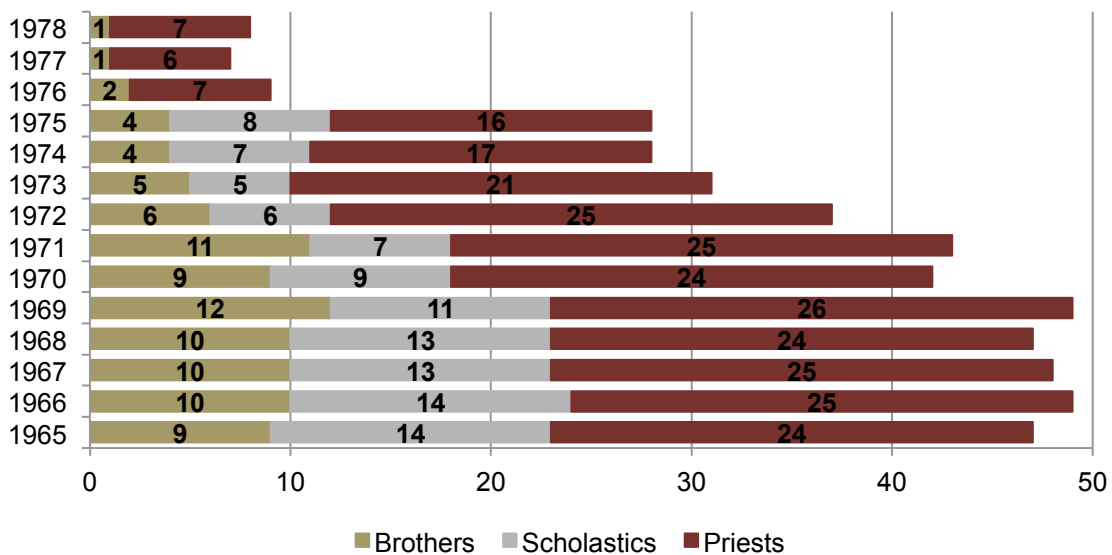
103. Ibid.

104. Lucey to Claire Hutter, December 9, 1970, 1969-1976 Folder.

105. Memo by Lucey to Faculty, July 2, 1973, *ibid.*

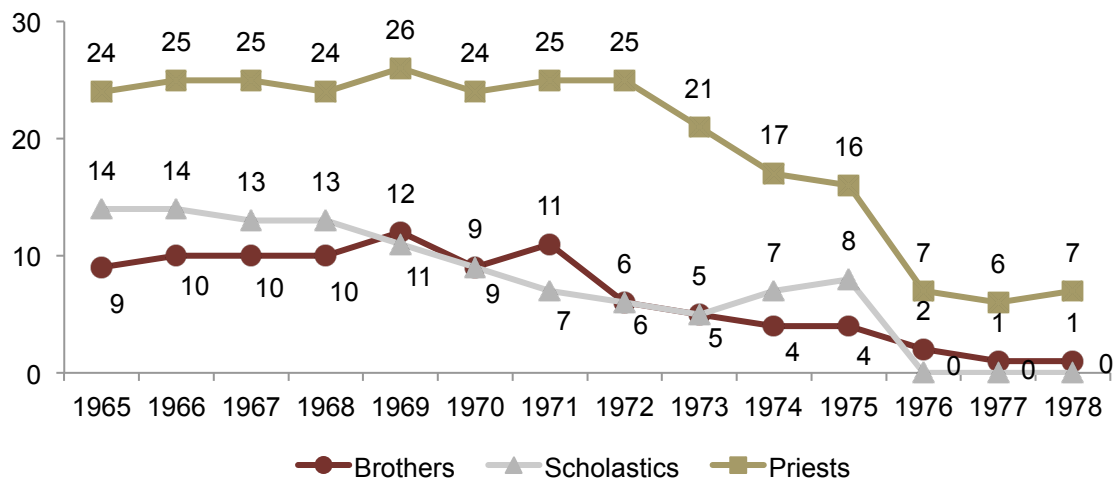
Campion—and significantly so, contributing not only to the overall decrease in human presence at the school, but also to the school’s Jesuit identity, represented in Tables 17 and 18. The numbers drop significantly in 1976 because of the school’s closure. A small number remained to facilitate the closure of the physical plant.¹⁰⁶

**Table 17: Campion Jesuit Community Membership:
1965 - 1978**



106. Wisconsin Province Catalogues 1965–1978, MJA. The final three years represent a remnant of Jesuits who remained with the property during the time of its being for sale. Campion did not sell quickly and the Society of Jesus had to lower its asking price in order to attract a buyer. It was during this three years that Brother Sylvester Staber, S.J., organized the Campion Archives. They were intended to be destroyed but Staber protested and took upon himself the task of organizing the materials and then renting a van to have them transported to the library at Marquette University. The receipt for the van rental is included in the archived material.

**Table 18: Campion Jesuit Community Membership:
1965 - 1978**



These declining numbers of both Jesuits and students had a dramatic effect upon the school culture, especially the residential program. For example, students no longer lived in Marquette Hall: it was an empty building used on occasion by groups of young women who would come to the school as guests for weekend visits. The campus was simply too large to support so few people, and the decreased number of Jesuits meant fewer Jesuit prefects in the halls, which meant less supervision and formation of the students.

The result was continued and considerable confusion and disagreement regarding the aim of the school, obvious from the lack of any promotional literature on Campion and its purpose. With profound disagreement, both faculty members and administrators fixated upon the question of the type of young man Campion aspired to form, and debated fiercely the kind of world reality he would encounter upon his graduation. Some opined that a normally stable world currently found itself engaged in a period of passing social instability. By returning to and maintaining its steady classical course, Campion would best serve its students by remaining anchored in its traditional mission. Others held that the

school's pace of change was simply not fast enough and that it was lagging behind the times, producing ill-prepared Campion men who would not recognize the world they would soon encounter. Still others observed a world with increasing momentum for continuous radical social change. They longed for Campion to mirror that world by creating real scenarios on campus which would challenge both students and teachers. They hoped to place them in the midst of instability which they believed would be remote preparation for the world reality Campion graduates would encounter. Unfortunately, the fruit of such vastly contradictory visions was an even deeper polarization among the faculty and staff and confusion among the students, which contributed to the high rate of attrition among both. Without a clear aim, students were at a loss as they struggled to recognize the goal of their high school formation: becoming Campion men. The large billboard outside the school grounds near the highway had been vandalized by graffiti to read, "Give Campion a Boy, Get Back a Man-iac," and there was truth to the altered slogan, for the changes had the unforeseen consequence of producing institutional chaos and confusion.

As the director of the work, the president held the challenging task of maintaining relationships with Campion's key constituents. It was practically impossible to articulate publicly the school's goals for its students while laboring to maintain open communication with the different factions within the faculty and staff. In the Jesuit's Wisconsin province newsletter, Lucey described Campion positively, as "providing a substitute environment for youth from diverse social, economic, religious and racial backgrounds which fosters a mutual understanding and respect among the students."¹⁰⁷ He presented the school as

107. Newsletter of the Wisconsin Province 6, no. 2 (November-December, 1973), Campion Collection, History Reevaluation of the Campion Aim 1972 Folder (hereafter cited as 1972 Folder), Box 9.

providing “an education in basic learning skills as well as challenging the best students. At Campion, a young man has the opportunity for value education in an atmosphere of faith. Such an educational ministry is far from archaic; American society needs us.”¹⁰⁸ The emerging vision he articulated was for Campion to become a Christian, academic community, an aspiration that some saw as rather vague, given the school’s history, while others saw as flexible enough to contain the potential for unprecedented transformation. Pursuing a Christian identity more than a Catholic one was likely an attempt to make the school more attractive to a wider population.

Because the goal was susceptible to wide interpretation, it too became a source of deep division and confusion about what was meant to be *Christian* as opposed to Catholic, how *academic* was to be regarded as a distinctive characteristic for an institution that was already educational, and how *community* could be formed given both the new composition of Campion students and the divisions within the Jesuits stationed at the school. For some, simply that the Campion aim was changed suggested radical discontinuity with its past; the solid and traditional aim of the school was to resist any alteration that would surrender to a much feared and never-ending process of change. For others, that the aim of the school was not in constant flux was a source of ongoing frustration with Campion’s stubborn traditionalism, for Campion existed within a world growing in knowledge of human diversity and the need for the fostering of a respectful, inclusive community. That the school was placed in an isolated nonurban environment, a context once regarded as one of Campion’s greater assets because it provided a formational context for deep concentration, physical activity, companionship, and protection, was equally frustrating. Location in rural

108. Ibid.

Wisconsin was now seen as an unattractive burden, given the school's newfound desire for its diverse young men to engage the social issues of contemporary America, benefits unheard of outside of the city. One Jesuit, Andy Thon, observed the school as isolated from the greater movements within the Society of Jesus and America. "The fact that we are really doing our thing out here pretty much alone often limits our perspective and clouds our thinking ... how effectively are we educating students to live in the cities of the future without a lot of concrete experiences to back up the ideas and causes we teach or preach to them?"¹⁰⁹

No longer of great importance to the process of becoming a Campion man was the requirement for one to cultivate the virtues of the knightly, Catholic gentleman. In a letter to his provincial, James "Sarge" O'Connor wrote that "some of us want to turn out radical Christians here at Campion. We want to have courage to become such ourselves. Others want to turn out well and nicely mannered Catholic gentlemen ... I think we ought to sell Campion. The rich can get an education very easily. Let us give ourselves to the poor."¹¹⁰ O'Connor's request for radicalism is significant, for many of the Jesuits genuinely desired that the students grow in their compassion for the poor and they believed that the way to this transformation was through the cultivation of the virtue of love, especially for those living in poverty. However, O'Connor and others recognized that such a hope was frustrated often by Campion's elite status as a boarding school outside of the city; there was simply no escaping the school's prestigious past. The inherent tensions between the competing formation of the Campion Catholic gentleman and the Campion Christian

109. "Reflections on a Becoming Campion," July 1, 1973, Campion Collection, 1972 Folder, Box 9.

110. James V. O'Connor, S.J., to Bruce Biever, S.J, February 19, 1971, 1972 Folder, 4.

radical were not easily borne by the school. A study of the daily announcements from the final two years of Campion's time reveals a deterioration of community spirit and cohesion. Vandalism, thefts, and fighting harmed morale of both students and teachers as they tried to live a common life and occurred with greater and alarming frequency as the school neared its final months.

In 1973 the new provincial, Bruce Biever, visited and advised that "discernment should begin at once concerning the long-range and short-range apostolic goals of the Jesuit community vis-à-vis Campion High School. I believe that the very unsure future which we are trying to work out at the present time makes the discernment all the more imperative ... If Campion is to survive at all as a Jesuit institution, the Jesuit community has the responsibility to speak out on its own concerns and priorities in an unequivocal manner."¹¹¹ Biever noted "a certain lack of professionalism" in the Jesuits' appearance at the school (2). He was concerned about the attitude around religious practices, noting that with regard to the Mass he found "no justification in the law of the Church for such an attitude" of promoting voluntary attendance and he urged that administrators reconsider their position. He expressed concern with the lack of extracurricular activities for the students, especially given the excessive amount of free time allotted to them. Evidently there was great pressure placed upon the provincial regarding the Campion problem, for he ended his memorial by acknowledging "there is no question that these are difficult days for Campion. They are likewise difficult days in terms of the province's responsibility to

111. Biever, "Memorial of the Provincial Visitation to Campion Jesuit High School, February 26-March 2, 1973," Campion Collection, Community Affairs Provincials Visitation 1881-1974 Folder, Box 2, 1.

the publics we serve through Campion as a Jesuit ministry. It is not easy to work under such circumstances” (2-3).

The Campion of 1975 was an academic community in the midst of wide experimentation as it engaged the creativity and risk called for by Arrupe. While there are no archived daily schedules for 1975, the evidence suggests that the highly structured daily order from the previous decade was gone. Most likely, such schedules did not exist. In fact, very little material is archived regarding the specific structure of either the daily order or the academic program at Campion in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The curriculum for 1975 placed a strong emphasis upon electives for students in the junior and senior years as well as some opportunities for choices of language and science courses during the freshman and sophomore years. The only common core requirements through the entire four years were English and theology.

Table 19: Campion Curriculum—1974–1975 ¹¹²

| Freshman | Sophomore | Junior | Senior |
|---|--|---|--|
| English Theology Algebra I General or Earth Science Language—Modern or Classical Social Studies Art (one semester) Physical Education | English Theology Geometry Language (continuation of 1 st year) American History Physical Education | English Theology Elective Elective Elective | English Theology (one semester) Elective Elective Elective Elective (one semester) |

This was demonstrative of a lack of structure which permeated not only the student’s experience, but also that of the faculty and administration. Fearful of the de-institutionalization that he observed, Brother Staber advised that Campion “should return

112. Course Offerings/Course Descriptions, Course Offerings Folder (see n. 20).

to structured classes—this place is not constructed for students to be free all day. It is our business and our duty to know where they are—they have been entrusted to us—and it is a sacred responsibility.”¹¹³ Another Jesuit, Paul Mahowald, longed for the return of the 8:30-3:00 school day, observing that night and late-afternoon courses were not helpful for high school boys who most often needed and benefited from structure, nor did he advocate Campion’s independent study classes. He feared that these changes were producing a campus academic culture of laziness and independence.¹¹⁴ Gone were the distinctive courses and diplomas offered to students of the past, and in their place Campion created an academic environment sensitive to the desires of the individual learner as well as the individual teacher, which provided tremendous flexibility in both course offerings and the schedule, but at the expense of a stable core curriculum. The educational model that seemed to dominate the academic program emphasized personal experience while teachers seemed to have had flexibility to structure courses however they wished. Jesuit scholastic John Garvey observed, “We seem to have made a decision to choose an education of experience or by experiences rather than the traditional academic approach, but what are the experiences that are to promote this education: sleeping in, running a store. It seems the kids make the decision as to what experiences they are going to have.”¹¹⁵

The transformation of the curriculum contributed to the shift in focus regarding discipline; as the studies reflected freedom and flexibility, so did the school’s discipline

113. Staber, “To Fr. Lucey, S.J., from Brother Staber, S.J., Notes from February 28th Conference,” Big Change Folder (see n. 40).

114. Paul Mahowald, S.J., “Father Mahowald Christian Academic Community” document (hereafter cited as Mahowald document), Campion Collection, 1972 Folder, Box 9.

115. John Garvey, S.J., “Saturday Night on the Hill” document (hereafter cited as “Saturday Night” document), March 31, 1972, Campion Collection, History The Future of Campion—Various Opinions Collected by Brother Staber, S.J. 1971 Folder (hereafter cited as Future of Campion Folder), Box 9, 1.

system. Discipline came to be seen as a major restriction of one's freedom, and gradually, regulations softened and centered upon the belief that free students would be respectful of the community and that mutual respect would prevent inappropriate behavior from ruling the community. Practically all structures from the past were removed in order to facilitate this freedom; in an era of Vietnam protests, even ROTC was phased out in 1971.

However, the racial tensions that Campion experienced with its new African American students, along with the vast amount of stealing, fighting, and vandalism within the dorms became unmanageable and by 1975 many were quite concerned about the state of affairs at the school. Archived notes from an evening gathering of conversation reveal growing tensions over the lack of discipline in the school, both for students and for faculty. One Jesuit teacher, John McNellis, stated that Campion had "so decentralized authority that we are a school without a personality. We don't feel that we can show our feelings in making demands, stating our reasons and insisting that students act accordingly. We don't come out strong enough for what we think" (4). He observed that the current youth culture lacked heroic figures. "Everything is of negative value; religion, the leaders of our country. When we give them the kind of freedom that we do we tell them that we don't know where it is either. We are just as unsure as they are ... I think we have to stand up and tell the kids what we are convinced of, or are we just too unsure?" (8).

Another Jesuit maintained that administrators mistepped by taking the freedom for college students and applying it to high school boys—without success. Perhaps nowhere was this more evident than in the dorms, where the residential culture of the school was often in a state of disarray. In 1972 Lucey wrote to the faculty about the residence life challenges.

According to him, it seemed that the problem stemmed from differing philosophies on how the residence halls ought to have been supervised. "I am aware of the demands of dorm life for a Jesuit; I realize that the problems are more complex than in my years in the dorm ... I am not convinced we have the personnel who are willing to put forth the kind of effort needed to make the residential halls what they must be to support the academic program ... Do we agree that the residence halls must be operated in such a way as to be more conducive to study and to growth? Are there enough men among us willing and able to do this work?"¹¹⁶ There was fierce disagreement about how the residence halls should be organized and governed, and much struggle as to how to structure them so that students might find greater value in the boarding component of their Campion experience. Some suggested that each dorm have a dean who held responsibility for the prefects of that building and who established overall policy, rather than allowing each prefect to create his own set of rules. In its present state, regulations often conflicted among prefects, causing confusion, inconsistency, and double standards. The desire to have a centralized authority in each building resulted from the record amount of property damage that was occurring in the buildings, the fruit of inconsistency in policies from prefect to prefect. Some prefects were very lenient, while others tried to maintain a strict environment. Because of these discrepancies, those who enforced policies were often villainized. "Right now, I am getting a bit fed up and disgusted with the number of 'Fuck you, Dreckman' I constantly hear on

116. Gregory Lucey, Memo from President to Faculty, March 25, 1972, *ibid.*, 2.

my way over to my office in Xavier. This general attitude tells me something about the student body ... Is this healthy? Is this normal?"¹¹⁷

One Jesuit requested the administration uphold "for the sake of Campion property, [that] the rooms are not the students' pads to do with what they want. We need a much stricter policy of what goes on in the rooms." He observed an "overemphasis on the rights and freedom of the students ... a license for them to slack off and neglect the rights of other students and of the school's property."¹¹⁸ Other Jesuits advocated further deregulation in order to acknowledge the pluralism of lifestyles within hall membership and to expand the freedom they believed would produce genuinely peaceful communities. For them, the current level of vandalism and conflict was simply the result of a process that was not yet complete. They maintained that any remnant of regulations made students feel policed and the only path toward tranquility was total deregulation.

Yet with fewer Jesuits in the halls, those who were prefecting were exhausted and angry because of the constant workload, demanding persistent negotiations of the conflicting policies. In the April 1, 1974 school announcements was a notice: "Fr. Strzok and several student photographers want to thank 1 or 2 particularly gifted creative writers for their inane and filthy remarks left on several photographs on display on 4th floor Campion. Your warped sense of values and unbridled need for expression helps us understand why so few objects of art of history or beauty are placed on public display

117. Phil Dreckman, S.J., to William P. Leahy, S.J., "Discipline on Campus in 1974" (hereafter cited as "Discipline"), October 26, 1974, Campion Correspondence Folder, Box 3.

118. Mahowald document.

around campus.”¹¹⁹ Another teacher posted at the start of the following school year that “it appears that someone in Xavier Hall was attempting to convey a message to me when he or they tore into shreds and scattered over the lobby floor copies of a newspaper that had been in the student lounge. The message came through garbled; the guilty party will have to be more direct, and come to me directly. Any other way is the way of cowards.”¹²⁰ The following January brought complaints that “some real considerate students have ripped off the key for the Xavier pop machine ... There was over \$300 worth of change and pop taken over the first semester period.”¹²¹ February saw students “setting off fire alarms, damaging property, disturbing others’ sleep, [and] leaving messes for others to clean up.”¹²² It was a story of consistent and rapid deterioration. Residential life decline was one element of decline but perhaps most telling of the state of collapse was reflected in athletic performance. Campion, once known for its excellent football program, ended the 1974-1975 season with a record of zero wins and eight losses. One of the Jesuit teachers, Phil Dreckman, saw this demise as a metaphor for the entire school. He wondered, “Are we as a faculty and staff really doing much better?”¹²³

Academic, discipline, and athletic decline were symptoms of a greater problem—the school’s Catholic and Jesuit identity. The religious identity of the school was significantly changing, given the culture of *aggiornamento* moving throughout Roman Catholicism. Besides the stationery letterhead, other examples of challenges to the Catholicity were

119. April 1, 1974, Daily Announcements, Campion Collection, Office of Registrar Weekly Calendar of Events and Daily Announcements 1973-1974 Folder (hereafter cited as 1973-1974 Folder), Box 11.

120. September 20, 1974 Daily Announcements, *ibid.*

121. January 8, 1975 Daily Announcements, *ibid.*

122. February 11, 1975 Daily Announcements, *ibid.*

123. Dreckman to Leahy, “Discipline,” Box 3.

more subtle. Catholics have the custom of abstaining from eating meat during Fridays of the season of Lent. In 1971 there was much disagreement about this custom at Campion, and administrators decided to offer meat with the hope that given the option, students would freely choose not to eat it. Dean of Students Fred Gates wrote that “the thrust of Campion is to gear our students to begin the thought process on their own and to reach decisions relative to their own lives after weighing the many aspects and ramifications of that decision.”¹²⁴

Campion Jesuits differed greatly in their opinions on how the school was to be a Catholic institution. On the one extreme, Jesuits like Staber held that the school should abandon the culture of experimentation and return to rigorous teaching of Catholic doctrine and the classical curriculum. In a transcript of his notes from a conference with Lucey, Staber lamented how the “school and community does not ‘think’ with the universal Church. This permeates the fabric of everything from liturgy to doctrine, etc. and is at the bottom of the lack of confidence by our former clientele. Credibility in our ability to teach and promote the Catholic doctrine is no longer present. In this area we must change and get in line with Church—and Christ—the only reason for our existence.”¹²⁵ If Campion were to survive, it must become “a truly Christian school with emphasis on the aspects manifested in the Catholic faith, philosophy, theology, and liturgy ... we’re kidding ourselves if we think we have anything else that is really sellable.”¹²⁶ After the meeting, a

124. Fred Gates, “Gates and the Friday Meat Incident,” March 13, 1971 typed message, Campion Collection, Wanting to Leave Campion: Brother Staber, S.J., 1970–1971 Folder, Box 11.

125. Staber, “Copy of my notes on the conference on February 28 [1973]” document, Big Change Folder.

126. Ibid.

frustrated Staber reflected on Lucey's reaction to his suggestions. He wrote in his own handwriting, "It was like watching water running off of a duck's back."¹²⁷

At the other extreme was Sarge O'Connor and those radical Jesuits who held that the pace of change in Campion's religious culture was simply too slow. In March 1973 Lucey felt that the tension between these two positions was increasingly fruitful for the mission of the school, noting that "there is no way the Church of the Fifties could become the Church of tomorrow without the painful confusion of the past ten years."¹²⁸ Yet he recognized the real costs of those changes, describing them as "painful, confused and anxious crossing over all about me: here at Campion, in the Jesuit Order and in the Church at large ... Inevitably, this movement shook every religious community to its roots. In time, with the same inevitability, every religious institution has been radically shaken. At every level we have experienced deep confusion, fear, anxiety and a longing to go back; but, knowing there could be no going back."¹²⁹ Catholic Campion was clearly in a state of unprecedented and painful flux. One Jesuit described the religious identity of the school as being off-center. He questioned the credibility of the Jesuit community in matters Catholic, observing that "our lack of piety and reverence in the essential parts of prayer have been lost."¹³⁰ He wondered whether "we have removed the structures of Catholicism and replaced them with nothing positive—only accentuating some negative features."¹³¹

There were questions regarding how the school's Catholicity affected the students' prayer lives and whether Campion was nurturing the faith of its young men. Many

127. Ibid.

128. Lucey, "Campion '73—Fr. Lucey," March, 1973, Future of Campion Folder, 2.

129. Ibid., 1.

130. Mahowald document.

131. Ibid.

students simply stopped going to Mass. At a gathering of faculty members away from the school at the Jesuit villa there was tremendous confusion and despair over the question of religious identity. One faculty member asked, “What is Christian about this school?”¹³² Another faculty member stated, “I really have questions about what I am supposed to be doing in teaching theology or what we should be doing about liturgy.”¹³³ The discussion then focused on the fostering of social awareness and that Masses on campus were available but not well attended.

The pain became unbearable for institutional stability and the promising fruit of progress seemed to die as the faculty and staff became more and more religiously polarized. For Campion, there was simply too much change in too little time, more than the school could bear. What was hoped to be a healthy tension which would open Campion to the reality of a pluralistic world turned into an impasse which would close Campion to the future world forever.

Campion's Final Moments

In 1970 Arrupe wrote to provincial Sheehan out of concern because “a number of reports have reached my desk, purporting to trace a rapid deterioration of Campion High School. As I read these recountals, I could not but be concerned for the welfare of our students, as well as for the reputation of the Society itself.”¹³⁴ In one school evaluation from November 1971 it was revealed that total operating losses from 1968-1971 exceeded \$526,500. It cited declining enrollment, cost increases and poor budget planning as factors

132. “Saturday Night” document, Future of Campion Folder, 8.

133. Ibid., 9.

134. Arrupe to Sheehan, April 20, 1970, Father General Folder (see n. 66).

leading to the deficit.¹³⁵ The school continued to lose students in the following years, leading Campion administrators to make fairly drastic proposals in order to facilitate the school's survival. In 1972 the administration entertained the idea of a Campion which would "shed our Americanism and work toward an internationalism" by becoming an international school. Lucey submitted a "dream agenda" to the school policy committee, proposing that five above-average students from twelve countries representing four world cultures, along with five international teachers, come to Campion. Because of its international identity, a novelty in secondary education, the school would become so attractive that recruitment of American students would no longer be problematic. In the dream agenda, Lucey created an imaginary international press release from "Premier Chou In Wong of the Peoples Republic of China, proclaiming of Campion: 'I know of no educational institution in the world doing more for international understanding among youth as Campion International School here in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.'" ¹³⁶ The idea was simply a desperate passing glimmer of hope, however, for only twelve days later he wrote a memo composed at 5:10 a.m. Unable to sleep because he was so preoccupied and disturbed about the school's situation, he decided to express his feelings about the present situation, asking whether the faculty and staff "can and should continue to try to operate a boarding school."¹³⁷ He questioned whether there was sufficient commitment to the values of a boarding school education and asked, "What is our motivation for continuing this operation: a job, sentimentality for the past, an existing situation we would make the best

135. Campion Evaluation: November 4-6, 1971, School Policy Folder.

136. Lucey, "Lucey's Dream Agenda March 13, 1972," *ibid*.

137. Lucey to Community, March 25, 1972, Future of Campion Folder.

of, conviction of the value of the Campion experience as educationally worthwhile?”¹³⁸ The following year, as both enrollment and Jesuit presence at Campion continued to deteriorate because of the growing discontentment, he proposed the school become coeducational, hoping that the change would raise both morale and enrollment. However, in his letter to provincial Bruce Biever, Arrupe addressed the coeducational proposal, observing that the move would provide little relief for the suffering school. “If it were a real solution for Campion, I would be in favor of coeducation, but I do not see that sufficiently strong reasons have been given to justify the admission of girls.”¹³⁹ He advised that it seemed to him that “in light of the financial situation and the expenditure of manpower and endeavor on a small student body, the problem of continuing the existence of the school should be squarely faced at this time.”¹⁴⁰

On July 2, 1973 Lucey wrote that “serious questions are being posed as to whether Campion is doing what it philosophizes it will.”¹⁴¹ He was alarmed that “these question are beginning to come from the mouths of many who have been unquestioning supporters.” The Campion community must decide what qualities it desires its graduates to possess and work to inculcate these. Currently, (1) there appears to be a great deal of ‘chatter’ regarding Christian concern for others, yet very little action as we experience racial unrest, stealing, drug use, heavy class absences among the students...”¹⁴² In his correspondence with Arrupe, Lucey acknowledged that “the cost in human energy is the more serious question. Few Jesuits are willing or able to spend the effort for more than a few years in a residential high

138. Ibid.

139. Arrupe, Letter on Coeducation, April 21, 1973, Campion Collection, Student Life Policy Committee 1973-1974 Minutes and Meetings Folder, Box 7.

140. Ibid.

141. Lucey, Memo July 2, 1973, 1969-1976 Folder.

142. Ibid.

school. This leaves no personnel to give stability and continuity to the apostolate.”¹⁴³ In a 1974 memo to the community, Lucey described the tension he faced when Jesuits refused to remain at the school. “As president of this institution, I have a responsibility to question whether, with this lack of commitment to this apostolate, the Society of Jesus wishes to continue to hold the trust which is Campion. If not, I have a responsibility to either find others to accept this trust or to see to its discontinuation in justice and equality to all who would suffer from the loss.”¹⁴⁴ At a 1973 meeting at the Saint Benedict Center in Madison, Wisconsin the faculty retreated in order to focus on what appeared to be the most serious of those questions, “the philosophy of Campion today.” The retreat summarized Campion’s purpose with bare minimalism. It was a school where “basic skills for learning and communication have priority.” The hope was to foster the perception of Campion as a “substitute environment, a racially, economically, geographically and religiously diverse group of students” who came to live “under the guidance and direction of a believing, Christian community of educators.”¹⁴⁵

One Jesuit scholastic at the school, William Leahy, shared his own observations about Campion in 1975. “I do not want to see the Society opt out of works that are hard just because they are hard. I agree that Campion is a demanding apostolate but it also can be most fruitful and effective. I have seen Campion help students in ways that no other school could.”¹⁴⁶ Leahy then wrote to the provincial to describe what he saw as a hopeful

143. Lucey to Arrupe, December 28, 1973, Campion Collection, Community Affairs Correspondence Folder, Box 1.

144. Lucey, Memo to Jesuit Community, December 13, 1974, *ibid.*

145. Campion Meeting at Saint Benedict Center in Madison, August 8–9, 1973, document, Campion Collection, North Central Evaluation 1972 Folder, Box 8.

146. Leahy, “The Future of Campion: Comments,” March 16, 1975, William Leahy, S.J., Campion Correspondence Varia Incomplete Folder (henceforth cited as Leahy Folder), Box 3.

niche for Campion's future. "I do think there is a market for a Campion that offers quality education in a Catholic, Jesuit context. Disillusionment with the large, impersonal urban and suburban high schools appears to be growing."¹⁴⁷

However, in what was to become Campion's final school year, that hope diminished significantly. Karl Voelker, a Jesuit from the theology department, described how Jesuits and lay faculty members were leaving because something had died in them. He stated that "in the hearts of our faculty, let us face it, Campion has no future. Unless our hearts are changed."¹⁴⁸ Voelker advised the administration to "declare the old Campion dead and decide what we are going to do." He proposed two options. The first was to give Campion a dignified funeral and to declare 1976 Campion's final year. The other was to "create a new vision that will rekindle hope and desire in the remaining faculty and attract new people."¹⁴⁹ In December of 1974 in Milwaukee, the province's Campion Task Force gathered to continue the ongoing evaluation. It concluded that the philosophy "must be clearly stated as much for holding and attracting manpower as for raising funds." In order to survive, it recommended Campion attract Jesuits from other provinces, as well as Catholic religious community members from other communities.¹⁵⁰ Given these many attempts to sustain Campion, it was disappointing that at the province consultants' meeting in Milwaukee during Holy Week of 1975, it was recommended to the provincial that Campion close. Back in Prairie du Chien, the Jesuit community gathered on March 28 to learn of the provincial's decision. It was Good Friday.

147. Leahy to Biever, March 31, 1975, *ibid.*

148. Karl Voelker, S.J., "The Emperor Has No Clothes," February 17, 1975, *ibid.*

149. *Ibid.*

150. Campion Task Force Meeting, December 23, 1974, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Campion Collection, Task Force Meeting on Priorities 1974 Folder, Box 9.

The reaction to Campion's closure was mixed. For some the decision brought relief while for others, there was much resentment and anger. In his letter to the Jesuits of the province, the provincial encouraged his men to recall the good that Campion had done for the Church and society over the years and not to dwell on the bitter disappointment surrounding the school's dramatic collapse, observing that apparently, in God's plans, "our work there has been completed. Heart-wrenching as that realization is, I, as you, must accept that fact as His will."¹⁵¹ In his April 10, 1975 letter explaining the closure to fellow alumni, Lucey cited a lack of demand for residential secondary education, a decline in Jesuit manpower, and financial hardship as reasons for the school's closure. In the press release issued the day before, he described how 1965 marked a "high tide in almost every facet of American society. Enrollments (Campion reached 598), vocations, building programs, an intoxicating renewal throughout the Church rose to an all time high. What followed was not the normal, expected ebb of waters out to sea, but rather a sudden, unpredicted turbulence that shook this nation to its roots. As mysteriously as its coming, the storm has passed. In its wake we endured a catastrophe in national leadership and now a serious economic crisis."¹⁵²

After the school's final commencement in May, Campion underclassmen were encouraged to transfer to other Jesuit high schools like Marquette High in Milwaukee and Loyola Academy and Saint Ignatius in Chicago. The property was put on the market, where it remained for three years. It finally sold in 1978 for \$2.8 million to the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, where it became Martin Luther Preparatory, a coeducational

151. Biever, "Letter to the Province Announcing the Closing of Campion," May 8, 1975, Leahy Folder.

152. Lucey, press release announcing the closing of Campion, April 9, 1975, *ibid.*

boarding school. The WELS operated the school until 1995 when it was sold to the state of Wisconsin to become the Prairie du Chien Correctional Institution, a juvenile prison for boys. The funds from the sale of Campion were invested and a Campion Endowment Fund was established. Interest from the principal continues to be given each year for scholarships among the three Jesuit high schools in the upper Midwest: Red Cloud Indian School in South Dakota, Marquette University High School in Milwaukee, and Creighton Preparatory in Omaha, Nebraska.

In his letter to fellow alumni explaining the closure of the school, Lucey hoped that despite the school's closing, the spirit of Campion would continue into the future. He emphasized how "no Latin class in Campion Hall in September does not mean the end of Campion. Some five thousand alumni encircle the globe, facing daily the crucial problems of building a better world. Campion lives on in the achievements of these men as we form new Champions in every field to train men for another age. Our tradition has been illustrious; it need be no less illustrious in the years ahead, unless we have confused the true spirit of Campion with some sandy soil and beautiful buildings."¹⁵³ Lucey acknowledged how it was likely that "each of us could have done more. Perhaps we should have; maybe we did what was right; perhaps we did our best. The closure of Campion is a hard fact to face."¹⁵⁴ Writing to William Leahy, Lucey admitted that in the closing of Campion, "others are bound to disagree for now or forever."¹⁵⁵ In the tense debate over whether the school was for the rich or for the poor, the ultimate answer in the case of Campion, was that it would no longer be for anyone.

153. Lucey to fellow alumni, April 10, 1975, *ibid.*, 2.

154. Greg Lucey, Letter to Fellow Alumni, April 10, 1975, Leahy Folder, 2.

155. Lucey to Leahy, April 4, 1975, *ibid.*

Conclusion

The Roots of Recovery from Transformation

In his consideration of transformational change in American Catholic religious practice, historian Joseph P. Chinnici maintains that the 1960s provided a “confluence of the country’s social and cultural mutations with the internal reform of Roman Catholicism.”¹ Interpreting the 1960s as “a *truly historical period*” (21) emphasized revolutionary change but in doing so, the American Catholic community was left “with an unusable past. By locating historical memory in a world so far removed from contemporary experience, it has dissolved the very notion of ‘tradition’” (82).

Though his observations consider religious devotional practices, they apply readily to the dynamics at work in the period of Jesuit secondary education in America considered here. Claiming the 1960s as a distinctive historical period benefits from understanding it within an expanded historical framework. The “symbols, images, and practices birthed or reinterpreted in the aftermath of World War II, forced during the era of the atomic bomb and anti-communism, and intertwined with the cultural tensions of containment and engagement, hierarchical structures and gender differentiations, sectarian markers and accommodationist allowances” help to promote a more nuanced consideration of the sixties (84-85). The changes in Jesuit secondary education described here were experienced by people who lived within the context of these earlier pre-1960s historical realities which occurred in America. This dissertation has attempted to explore this longer view of Jesuit

1. Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., “The Catholic Community at Prayer, 1926-1976,” in *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. James M. O’Toole (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 9-10.

secondary education in order to better understand the complex developments that occurred later in the sixties.

Chinnici observes that within the Catholic 1960s “a gap existed between what had once been officially proposed and what the majority of people knew to be true from their experience. Such reaction can only be understood in the light of a generational change and the confluence of those reared in the ‘pedagogy of participation’ with the civil rights movement, the war on poverty, the growing discontent over Vietnam, and the beginnings of the feminist movement ... They became the hermeneutic screen that influenced the reception of the Council” (86). This gap official stance and lived experience existed in American Jesuit secondary education, too. As some Jesuits began to sense that their stated aim and the actual outcome were increasingly at odds. The Jesuits voiced this in the *Quarterly* and their suspicion was affirmed in Fichter’s surveys. Eventually, student formation came to emphasize less the Catholic gentleman and more the Jesuit radical. Included within this change were movements away from classical study and toward a curriculum favoring diversity and social justice considerations. There was also a dismantling of hierarchical provincial structure of governance and authority in order to promote institutional autonomy through the creation of the JSEA, but autonomy without an emphasis on a particular framework or structure. Navigating the space this gap created between these elements proved complicated. In the attempt, some schools like Campion collapsed, but most fared well and today they are very successful Jesuit high schools.

The movement from gentleman to radical emerged after an extended period of tranquility was interrupted by the different crises of identity experienced by both Jesuits

and their schools. In his 1951 book advising Jesuit high school students how to succeed in their studies, Paul A. Reed of the Jesuit's New York province represented this earlier time of Jesuit high school stability when he cautioned students, "Don't drift along through school and through life—*do it right!*"² That meant active receptivity to the Jesuit high school formation that would make them Catholic gentlemen who were ever mindful of the religious end desired for them by the schools. They were always "serving a King," each dedicating his powers and energies to that service, "carrying out the tasks of the year like a warrior battling for the honor of his king and queen" (3). Reed reminded the students that attending a Jesuit school automatically placed them in a special category. "The diploma which you receive here will get you off to a good start with any college dean or business executive, precisely because a Jesuit school has a reputation for high standards and hard work" (5).

Besides the religious and academic components of gentleman formation, William Bowdern, the Jesuit president of Campion in the 1940s, saw mastery of etiquette as additionally essential. Good manners would yield a Catholic gentleman "who practices virtue in all his dealing with his fellowman because in him he sees and serves Christ. He is as thoughtful of others as he is forgetful of himself. His every thought is to make others happier and better for having dined with him, played with him, worked with him, lived with him."³ At that school, the particular manifestation of the Catholic gentleman was seen in the exemplary model of Edmond Campion himself, "one of the finest students of his

2. Paul A. Reed, S.J., *Do It Right! A Guide to Study Methods for Students in a Jesuit High School* (New York: JEA, New York Province, 1951), 61.

3. William S. Bowdern, S.J., *Good Manners* (Prairie du Chien, WI: Campion Jesuit High School, 1941), 1.

day, a gentleman to his finger-tips, cultured and refined, he will live in memory forever as a man who had unconquerable courage—courage to do the right thing, though it meant his life ... This is the lesson that lives at Campion in imitation of him who is the patron of the school and the exemplar of the faculty and the students.”⁴

If they did it right, the distinctive result would be a flourishing Catholic elite in America, what the former superior general Janssens named as the *insigne*, who would gradually populate the upper echelons of American society in a uniquely Catholic way that would promote the Jesuit mission. This was, in Chinnici’s schema, the official proposition and overarching objective. What some Jesuits came to suspect was that their graduates by and large were more motivated to seek membership within the status of the American elite, symbolized by their emerging presence at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. In the 1960s, some Jesuits feared their schools were increasingly a means not necessarily to the end of influential Catholicism in America, but merely to Catholic participation in American upper middle and high class society. These competing ends converged within the American cultural upheavals of the 1960s which led eventually to the generational change that Chinnici described. The election of Pedro Arrupe was a key element in facilitating the process that transformed Jesuit secondary education.

When he addressed the French Jesuits assembled at Amiens in 1965, Arrupe revealed the foundation of his emerging vision for the entire enterprise of Jesuit secondary education. A Jesuit school was to be first and foremost, open, “with courage and with immense confidence, frankly facing up to the problems of its time and ready for every

4. *Kilmer and Campion*, commemorative booklet (Prairie du Chien, WI: Campion Jesuit High School, 1937), 42.

renewal, even the most far-reaching, in order to lose nothing of its apostolic urgency.”⁵

That openness meant that the schools were to reclaim the foundational mandate from Ignatius himself that they be for both richer and for poorer students. Arrupe was adamant that Jesuits force themselves “in every way possible ... to make sure that the formation which we give our pupils be adapted as much as possible to the world in which they will have to exercise their activity as men. Let us give them a truly catholic mind which dominates nationalisms and opens them to the needs of countries less developed than their own.”⁶

In the United States, this formation was to be advanced through the establishment of the Jesuit Secondary Education Association, which promoted at the grassroots level the “pedagogy of participation.” As they discerned the change of heart, the *metanoia*, desired by the JSEA, some Jesuits’ participation became radical because they increasingly believed the changes that were occurring were too slow and perhaps too little and too late. There were certain figures in the American Catholic church whom they looked to for inspiration that inspired them and fueled the sense of urgency in their actions. In his book, *No Bars to Manhood*, the Jesuit Daniel Berrigan, described on the book’s cover as a “committed radical” who “launches his personal rockets against the social evils that disturb and preoccupy him,” observed the generational alienation in which he and other young Jesuits found

5. Arrupe, Letter of Father General to the French Fathers Assembled at Amiens Concerning the Apostolates of the ‘Colleges,’ August 25, 1965, Rome (hereafter cited as Letter of Father General), New England Province of the Society of Jesus Education Apostolate, Record Group 7.3 (hereafter cited as New England Province, RG 7.3), Letter on the High School Apostolates 1965 Folder (hereafter cited as 1965 Folder), 2.

6. Ibid., 3.

themselves.⁷ “A great world power is grown distracted in mind and gigantic in pretension. The nation is fearful of change, racist, violent ... It seeks, moreover, to legitimize its crimes. It stifles dissent, co-opts protests, orders its best youth into military camps, where methods of murder exhaust the curriculum. Most Christians accede to the orders ... and they say, ‘Let us work and wait toward better days.’ But some cannot wait while the plague worsens.”⁸ His words blasted the old order and emboldened the new.

Likewise, in his “personal version of the world in the 1960s,” the American Trappist monk Thomas Merton saw himself as a “guilty bystander” called to engage the times with pressing urgency because he feared the present was a once-in-a-lifetime, life-or-death opportunity.⁹ “Shall I say that we are being given one last chance to be Christians, and that if we do not accept it, then we are done for? And not only we the ‘Christians,’ but also everybody in our society, the society once based on Christian principles? Shall I say that we are offered one last opportunity to work out in practice the social implications of the Gospel, and that if we fail we shall have an earthly hell, and either be completely wiped out or doomed to a future of psychopathic horror?”¹⁰

Berrigan and Merton promoted the sense of immediacy and desperation that motivated more radical Jesuits to forcefully pressure institutions like Jesuit high schools to adapt quickly and profoundly. Some schools experienced the rapid change brusquely, and among some Jesuits this led to more profound generational and political division within the Jesuit community. The result was that Jesuit education, and the Jesuits involved in it,

7. Daniel Berrigan, S.J., *No Bars to Manhood: A Powerful, Personal Statement on Radical Confrontation with Contemporary Society* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 3.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Thomas Merton, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1968), 4.

10. *Ibid.*, 93.

experienced what the Yale sociologist Kai Erikson named as collective trauma. “By *collective trauma* ... I mean a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality. The collective trauma works its way slowly and even insidiously into the awareness of those who suffer from it, so it does not have the quality of suddenness normally associated with ‘trauma.’ But it is a form of shock all the same, a gradual realization that the community no longer exists as an effective source of support and that an important part of the self has disappeared.”¹¹ The trauma contributed to the crisis of identity for Jesuits and their schools, centered upon the tension that came from increased distinction between the use of Jesuit as a noun versus its use as an adjective. In 1969 as the Jesuits in higher education gathered in Denver for a workshop to discuss the changes that were occurring, American Jesuit philosopher William Richardson described his understanding of a precisely distinctive Jesuit identity. “The only sense that can be given to Jesuit commitment of any kind is the most radical sense of Jesuit meaning—namely, the Ignatian experience of commitment to Christ as King and Lord of History.”¹² His position could have bridged some of the division. However, not all Jesuits were in agreement and the alienation continued to deepen.

Certainly the Jesuits were not alone in experiencing the challenges of the era. Indeed, perhaps the tense divisions were magnified because they were experienced by Jesuits in tandem with what was occurring in the greater culture, as described by the historian Philip Gleason. “The sixties gave me a much livelier awareness of the degree to which we are social beings. One factor here was the stark contrast between the social

11. Kai Erikson, “Notes on Trauma and Community,” in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 187.

12. JEA, *Denver Workshop*, 22 (see chap. 5, n. 10).

shaping of the World War II generation (to which I belonged) and that of the Vietnam War generation (to whose formation I was a dismayed witness). But the realization of our social nature came through even more vividly from the unnerving discovery that our ‘personal’ convictions depend so heavily on their also being held by those around us. For when people we think of as sharing our deepest views repudiate them, it affects us—especially if we feel a particular respect for, or identification with, the people in question. And when the phenomenon reaches the scope and intensity of a societywide crisis of confidence—a massive breakdown of faith in ideals and institutions ... few individuals can escape its impact.”¹³

When the board of directors of the JSEA met in San Jose, California in 1973, they assessed the state of the high schools after the first years of change. “Evidence that many giant steps forward have been made in Jesuit schools has been coming to the Board. Yet ... it has become very clear that a tremendous amount of work has yet to be done. As Father Bill Wood put it, ‘We have yet to achieve that ‘gut level’ of change that is required of Jesuits, of faculty, of students, parents, alumni.’ He spoke of the Metanoia which ‘is at the heart, in the blood, at the marrow of the bones,’ which alone can bring about successful alteration of the structure or procedure of a school.”¹⁴ The directors were acknowledging the slowness of change, proof that some schools were careful and deliberate in their discernment and implementation. This was likely Arrupe’s desired way of proceeding, who acknowledged that his proposal was controversial and immensely challenging. He advised

13. Philip Gleason, “Becoming (and Being) a Catholic Historian,” in *Faith and the Historian: Catholic Perspectives*, ed. Nick Salvatore (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 18.

14. Minutes, JSEA Board of Directors, June 26–29, 1973, Bellarmine College Prep, San Jose, CA, Holy Cross Archives, New England Province RG 7.3, JEA—Executive Secretary Varia Folder.

the Jesuits to adapt so that the openness he desired for the schools would occur in appropriate ways for the various contexts in which Jesuit schools found themselves. Renewal “cannot but pose many problems, for it is clear that one must know how to discern the constructive elements from those that are not.”¹⁵

Perhaps this capacity to discern the difference deliberately was what enabled some schools to succeed in the transformation while others, like Campion, could not. Jesuits at Campion did not consider fully the appropriate ways of change that acknowledged the particular context of that school: that of an elite, geographically isolated boarding school that served as a pressure cooker without an urban environment its members could engage to relieve the buildup of institutional pressure. Yet, in the words of Sylvester Staber, the Jesuit brother who single-handedly salvaged and painstakingly assembled the school’s archives, “to blame one or two Jesuit officials for Campion’s final closing over simplifies the matter. Campion wilted on the vine, while suffering a form of battle fatigue. It lacked the will to fight on when the personnel became discouraged and lost heart.”¹⁶

By contrast, one of the many Jesuit schools that did succeed in the *aggiornamento* of Jesuit secondary education was Saint Joseph’s Prep in Philadelphia, which in the late 1960s created the Neighborhood Underprivileged Summer School Program. “This preparation is academic, cultural and social ... Students should be drawn from the areas of the city where cultural, social and economic disadvantage is present. Students should be sought out from these areas by the Director of Admissions who would be in frequent contact with the local grammar schools. The area of our greatest concern should be the North Central

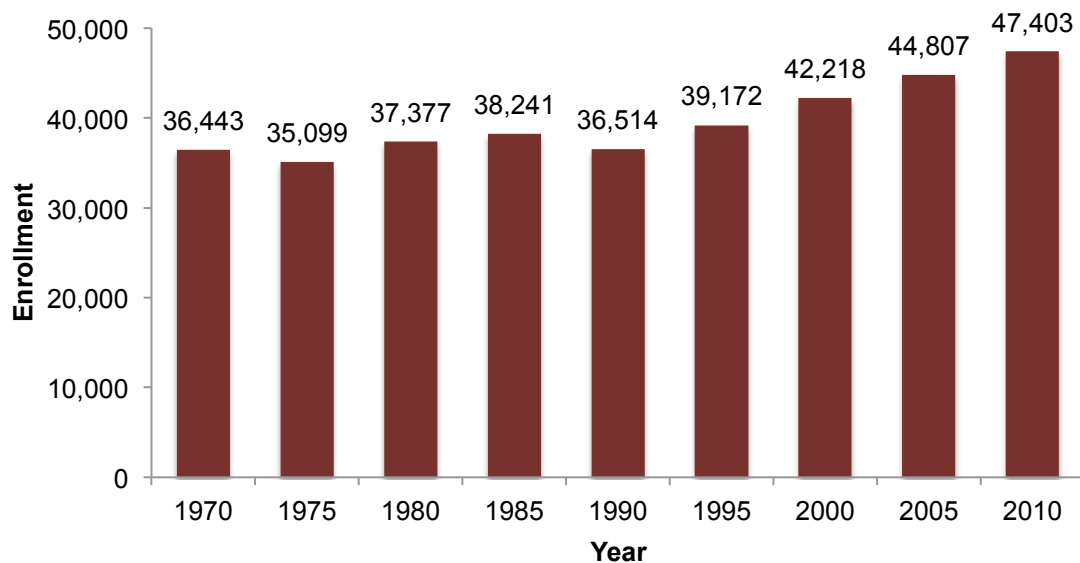
15. Arrupe, Letter of Father General, 2.

16. Staber, “The Aftermath,” *Future of Campion* (see chap. 6, n. 115).

Philadelphia Ghetto.”¹⁷ In his letter to JEA president Paul Siegfried, Jesuit John Palenchar described another St. Joseph initiative, the Community Action Program, a summer program for poor Philadelphia boys. “The program had as its purpose the preparation of the boys involved for entrance into St. Joseph’s Prep this fall. Almost all of them had been tutored on Saturday mornings throughout the past school year and had achieved at least conditional acceptance into the Prep. We hope to continue this program next summer and to expand it to include boys who will be about to enter the eighth grade.”¹⁸

Despite the initial concern of decline, enrollment figures reveal a rapid recovery, and Jesuit secondary education in America seems to have triumphed and even flourished, evidenced in Table 20 by the ever-increasing demand for it.¹⁹

Table 20: Enrollment at Jesuit High Schools in America



17. “A Report of the Neighborhood Underprivileged Summer School Program,” JEA Collection, St. Joseph’s Preparatory School Folder (hereafter cited as St. Joseph’s Folder), Box 21.

18. John Palenchar, S.J., to Siegfried, September 30, 1969, *ibid.*

19. JSEA Bulletin and Annual Reports, JSEA Collection, Washington, DC. The JSEA reports an even higher number in 2010 of 51,151 students. However, those numbers included schools from Canada, Puerto Rico, and Miami, institutions that were not considered in early statistics. For this reason, I have subtracted them from the reported totals in order to provide consistency with earlier years.

Jesuit secondary education in America stabilized, and that which seemed radical in the past—the pursuit of social justice, the mixing of classes, even the availability of coeducation among some Jesuit high schools—no longer seemed so. Through his concept of collective memory, the German philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs acknowledged how “it is natural that old value judgments have for a long time prevented new ones from moving to the forefront and that the latter become introduced only by assuming the appearance of the former. But along with that appearance, new value judgments have slowly assumed the form of tradition.”²⁰ That seems to be precisely what happened in the crises facing Jesuit secondary education in America. The JSEA grew out of a need to renew Jesuit high schools. Some schools like Campion were sacrificed in the struggle to bring the renewal to the forefront. The dissertation has sought to recall the complexities involved in this recent history of American Jesuit high schools so that the present successes the schools enjoy might recognize in their collective memory the crises and the accompanying challenges that occurred in order to help them to this point.

20. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 166.

Afterword
Secondary School Developments and the Continuing Question Regarding Identity

Historian James O'Toole writes that "historians are always more comfortable in the past than in the future or (sometimes) in the present. They are thus unqualified, after recounting events that have brought them to their own times, to say much about what will happen next. But the past is a guide nonetheless, if only because it shows the range of possibilities for the future."¹ In this Afterword, the dissertation explores briefly the direction American Jesuit secondary education has taken since the tumult of the 1960s.

Richard Janet describes a predominant model in Catholic historiography that focuses on the seductive narrative of triumph and decline. "Indeed, a sense of loss and decay permeates much of what may be called Catholic historiography, a tradition that often lingers on the decline and fall of a once triumphant faith and seeks to mine the past for a glimpse of 'the world we have lost.'"² In the narrative of Jesuit secondary education from 1965 until 1975, such an interpretation is indeed tempting, given the apparent impact of deterioration. *Campion* stood not alone among the secondary schools that closed, both within America but also around the world, like the *Instituto Patria* in Mexico City and *Mungret* in Ireland. In the United States, additional schools like *Cranwell School* and *Brooklyn Prep* closed as well for various reasons, but often in circumstances similar to *Campion*. The Jesuits had opened *Xavier School* in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1962 only

1. James O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 304-5.

2. Richard J. Janet, "Cold, Bare Ruined Choirs"? Reflections on the Nature of Catholic History" (hereafter cited as "Reflections"), in *Catholicism at the Millennium: The Church of Tradition in Transition*, eds. Gerald L. Miller and Wilburn T. Stancil (Kansas City, MO: Rockhurst University Press, 2001), 3.

to close it in 1971. In announcing the closing, the Jesuit headmaster, John R. Vigneau, explained that “the years of a wonderful dream have drifted away and a new vision begins to come into focus. The years of founding a new school, seeing it achieve renown in the best educational circles, ends.”³ He knew the Jesuits’ departure was controversial and painful, perhaps even strange. “What I am tearing my heart out to say to you is that the Jesuits are leaving Xavier school for truly spiritual reasons. The enigma of the Jesuits is true today as in days past!” (5). He represented conflicted Jesuits who experienced “a gnawing doubt” in their service to elite Jesuit secondary education, yet who simultaneously wished to reassure school stakeholders: “We do not reject you; but we sincerely have tried to raise the basic question of whether we can serve God best here or elsewhere and the answer for some of us—with no certainty—whispers back that there are more demanding needs” (4).

The schools that sustained through the tumult had their early critics. Mark Gauvreau Judge, who attended Georgetown Prep in the late 1970s, declared himself “a member of the generation of Catholics raised after Vatican II who were cheated out of a Catholic education.”⁴ It was at Georgetown Prep, “one of the best schools in the country, according to its reputation,” that he was “bombarded with drugs, alcohol, widespread homosexuality among the clergy, and ever-escalating requests for donations to help the wealthy school build another building” (10). Judge believed the damage he felt he experienced as a student was rooted in the actions of “liberal reformers in the 1960s who almost destroyed Catholic education” (11). He believed the foundation of Jesuit secondary

3. John R. Vigneau, S.J., Statement at the Public Meeting Held at Xavier School on Tuesday, January 13, 1971 (hereafter cited as Public Meeting), JEA Collection, Xavier High School Concord, MA Folder, Box 21, 1.

4. Mark Gauvreau Judge, *God and Man at Georgetown Prep: How I Became a Catholic Despite 20 Years of Catholic Schooling* (New York: Crossroad, 2005), 10.

education reform to be solid, for it offered the opportunity to embrace “both the vibrant Christianity of the early church, with its deep humanism and concern for the poor, and the richness of the modern thinkers who had converted to the faith—men like Chesterton and Maritain” (12). Polarization followed, however, resulting in a lost opportunity which was squandered on division “between the old Jesuit tradition and the new” (60). This failed liberalism produced “a thoughtless radicalism, leaving us the vanilla Catholicism that I was taught” (12). Judge’s critique of Georgetown shared its aim at past scenes like the one occurring at Xavier when Vigneau faced the parents, faculty, and students. “I stand before you prouder than I have been in a long time. I am proud to be a Jesuit, a member of an organization that can create a great school; and proud to be a member of an organization that is so free, so flexible, with such world vision, and such dedication to Jesus Christ that it can move on—as radical Christians, forming radical Christians for the greater glory of God.”⁵ Vigneau eventually left the Jesuit order.⁶

In her 2007 assessment of Jesuit high schools, Eileen Wirth acknowledged the past decline, but positioned it as an exceptional brief anomaly in the historical narrative of Jesuit secondary schooling in America. “The nation’s Jesuit high schools were reeling from an identity crisis. Jesuits were leaving both the schools and the Society; social action ministries seemed more relevant than teaching high school. Should the Jesuits continue to run high schools for upper- and middle-class students or focus on serving the poor?”⁷ Yet the present position of success was proof of the positive momentum surging from the

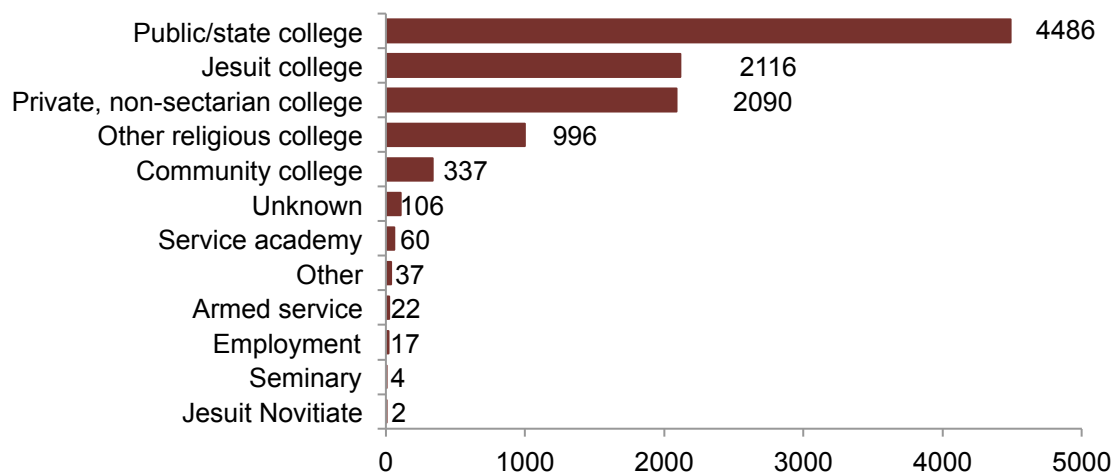
5. Vigneau, Public Meeting, 9.

6. Joseph M. Becker, S.J., *The Re-Formed Jesuits*. Vol. 1, *A History of Changes in Jesuit Formation During the Decade 1965–1975* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1992), 70.

7. Eileen Wirth, *They Made All the Difference: Life-Changing Stories from Jesuit High Schools* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2007), xiii.

earlier struggle. “Most of the traditional Jesuit high schools are at capacity, with competitive enrollments. This includes inner-city schools once threatened with closing ... The schools are raising at least four hundred million dollars in capital campaigns alone to upgrade campuses and enhance endowments/financial aid ... Jesuit schools all over the country are still academically and athletically elite.”⁸ The schools are more ethnically diverse, with the JSEA reporting in 2010 that minorities constituted 28.34 percent of the entire student population of member schools,⁹ and that minority teachers comprised 14 percent of faculty.¹⁰ Approximately three quarters of students at the American schools identify as Catholic.¹¹ Table 21 shows that of the 10,276 graduates of American Jesuit high schools, about one-fifth continue in Jesuit colleges and universities.¹²

Table 21: 2010 Graduate Placement
Total of 10,273 Graduates



8. Ibid., xiv.

9. JSEA Annual Statistical Report 2010 (hereafter cited as Statistical Report 2010), JSEA Collection, Washington, DC, 8.

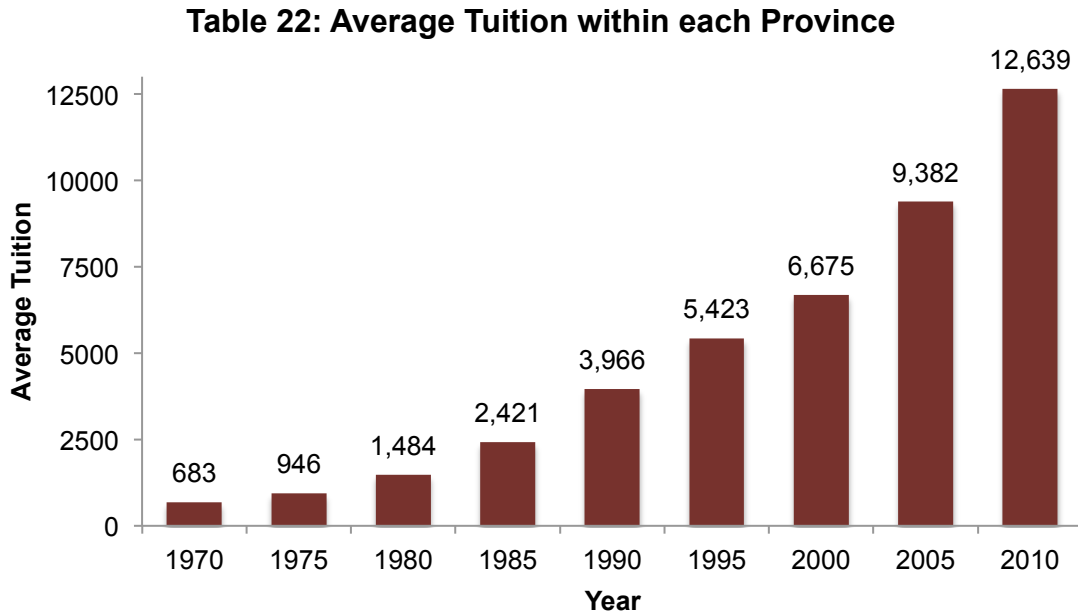
10. “Ethnic Diversity of Teachers,” 2010 data, JSEA, Washington, DC.

11. “Catholic Enrollment at JSEA Schools,” 2010 data, JSEA.

12. Statistical Report 2010, 5.

However, tuition at Jesuit schools continued to climb as well, demonstrated in

Table 22 by the overall average of the annual tuition within each province.¹³



Wirth noted how “some people are turned off by the wealth and elitism of many of the schools, or they are jealous of their success and, yes, arrogance. Some parents question if the financial sacrifice is worth it.”¹⁴ A greater number of parents than these believed the sacrifice to be worthy, however, because the schools promoted a mission of formation that would yield both success and compassion, described in the composite of the JSEA’s “graduate at graduation.” Alumni of Jesuit schools were formed to be intellectually competent, open to growth, religious, loving, and committed to doing justice.¹⁵ Wirth credits the JSEA with facilitating this fruitful renewal of Jesuit secondary education.

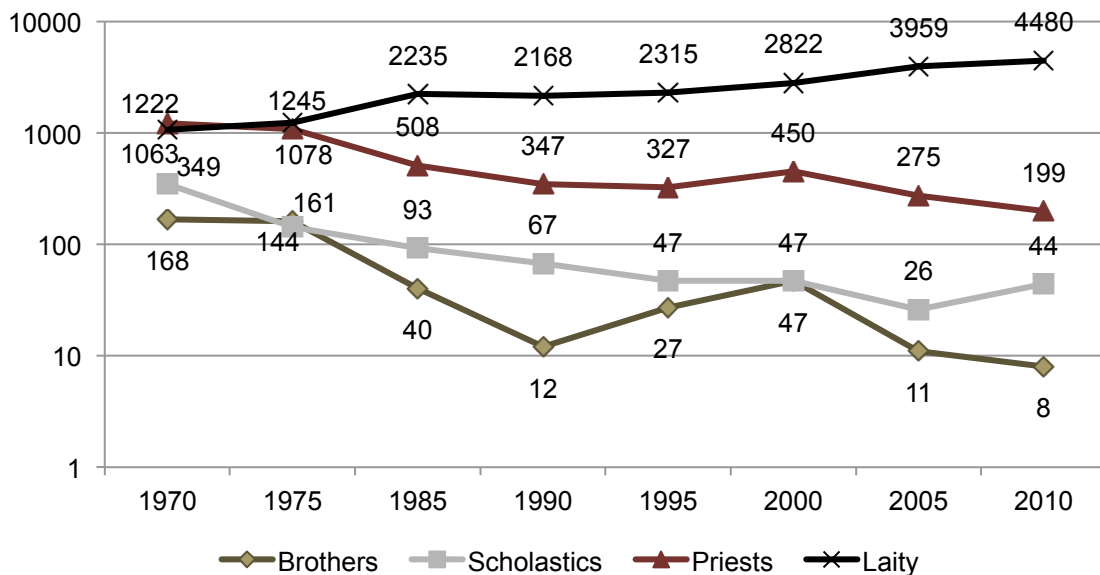
13. JSEA Bulletin and Annual Reports. Because of the transition from the JEA to the JSEA, data for early years of its existence is sparse. No information on tuition for 1970 was collected. Averages for 1971 were provided, however, so I have chosen to include that statistic in place of 1970.

14. Wirth, *All the Difference*, xvi.

15. “Profile of the Graduate of a Jesuit High School at Graduation,” JSEA Commission on Research and Development, 1981, *Foundations* (Washington, DC: JSEA, 1994), 102.

Because of it, “now all faculty are expected to promote Ignatian mission and identity, and most do. At every school I visited, Jesuits joked that some of their lay colleagues are ‘more Jesuit than the Jesuits.’”¹⁶ The comment was revealing and perhaps not a laughing matter, for it was indicative of continued struggle regarding Jesuit self-perception and the particular purpose Jesuits were to fulfill within the schools. As the number of Jesuits decreased, the number of lay teachers and administrators continued to skyrocket, as shows in Table 23. The decline in Jesuit manpower perpetuated the debate regarding Jesuit character and distinctiveness of the schools.¹⁷

Table 23: Distribution of Manpower at Jesuit High Schools



To respond to the ongoing concerns regarding identity, the Society continued to study the contexts of Jesuit education, both internationally and at the local level. In 1980

16. Wirth, *All the Difference*, xvii.

17. JSEA Collection, JSEA. Data for 1980 hadn't been collected, but the JSEA records did contain data for 1979. Jesuit Tampa was missing from the 1995 JSEA records but the principal, Barry Neuburger, was able to provide this information for the school via email on March 11, 2013. I have added that data into the totals for 1995.

Pedro Arrupe established the International Commission on the Apostolate of Jesuit Education, which in 1986 produced the influential document, “The Characteristics of Jesuit Education,” which highlighted twenty-eight distinctive attributes to the Jesuit method. Vincent J. Duminuco, the Jesuit director of the International Jesuit Education Leadership Project, reported that “reactions to *The Characteristics* document were overwhelmingly positive.”¹⁸ In 1993 the same commission released “Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach,” a document equally well received and that when taken together, Duminuco argued, formed “a new *Ratio* [Studiorum] for a new millennium.”¹⁹

There remained, however, the question surrounding Jesuit identity at the schools. The American provincials released a document in the year 2000 titled, “What Makes a Jesuit High School Jesuit?” That the document came from the provincials rather than the JSEA revealed a significant development in secondary school governance. The JSEA’s historical foundation promoted institutional autonomy with limited involvement from each province. However, the decreasing presence of Jesuits made questions of identity more pressing as increasingly the Jesuitness of one school could differ significantly from that of another. The provincials reclaimed more direct involvement in the schools with the ultimate determining factor of a school’s Jesuitness becoming more highly centralized. “The provincial outlines what it means for the school to be Jesuit and helps the school understand the mission of the Society of Jesus.”²⁰ To demonstrate its acceptance of the mission, the Jesuit school became dependent upon a contractual agreement with the

18. Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J., ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 153.

19. *Ibid.*, 160.

20. “What Makes a Jesuit School Jesuit?: The Relationship Between Jesuit Schools and the Society of Jesus, Distinguishing Criteria for Verifying the Jesuit Nature of Contemporary Schools” (hereafter cited as “Jesuit Nature”) (Washington, DC: Jesuit Conference, 2007), 4.

province through the use of an assessment “to help measure the Jesuit identity of a school” (4-5). This sponsorship recognized “specific standards, expectations and procedures to assess Jesuit identity defining the school’s and the Society’s relationship to one another” (4-5). The continued sponsorship by the Society of Jesus “depends on this assessment,” for without it, a school would no longer be considered Jesuit (5).

The provincials placed emphasis upon and distinction between the descriptive use of the term, Jesuit, and the actual organization of the Society of Jesus. In fact, of the 137 times the document refers to the word Jesuit, only five times is it used in the form of a noun; its usage is almost exclusively adjectival.²¹ The distinction helped to clarify the relationship between the schools and the Society of Jesus and its apostolic mission by more clearly objectifying Jesuitness, which provided the Society of Jesus with leverage regarding its mission in education. The Society served as a type of broker, using Jesuitness as a commodity—the means it had to exercise influence in the schools so that their mission continued to reflect the Jesuit concern “for faith, justice, and evangelization.”²²

The roles of the schools and the Society were distinct within the dynamic of this exchange, with the provincials emphasizing the relationship as fundamentally personal but from within a hierarchical structure that didn’t necessarily require the involvement of Jesuit manpower at the grassroots levels of the schools. From the perspective of the religious order, “the Society’s care for the schools is current, intentional and personal; it cannot be merely historical or contractual. The relationship is embodied in persons—a clear and well-understood rapport among the provincial superior, his assistant for secondary and

21. “Jesuit” as noun occurs on pp. 1, 2, 17, 18, and 19.

22. “Jesuit Nature,” 9.

pre-secondary education, the school's governing board, the director of the work and other persons in specific leadership roles who link the school and the Society" (1-2). In exchange for the conferral of Jesuitness, the institution was obligated to advance "the Society's apostolic mission ... by seeking and accepting the partnership of the Society and the leadership of its general congregations, by working with the provincial in all matters that promote the relationship between the Society and the school and by welcoming Jesuit presence at the school" (6). The American provincials wisely spelled out distinguishing criteria "for verifying the Jesuit nature of contemporary schools," the first and most important being that "all apostolates of the Society can be defined as a 'service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement'" (8).

Increasingly, the question of identity emerged as a global challenge, not merely an American one, for the issues regarding Jesuit manpower expanded, given worldwide demand for Jesuit education and the limited number of Jesuits available. At the International Colloquium on Jesuit Secondary Education held on the campus of Boston College in 2012, Jesuit Jose Mesa, the secretary for secondary education for the entire Society of Jesus, reassured the assembled delegation of Jesuits and laypeople that secondary education remained of crucial importance to the Jesuits' global mission. There continued to be "enormous apostolic potential of secondary education. The Society of Jesus is aware that this potential is still alive and that secondary education continues to be a central apostolic work in our present historical moment."²³

23. Jose Mesa, S.J., "Jesuit Education: Embracing the New Frontiers, A Continuous Pilgrimage" (hereafter cited as "Pilgrimage"), Boston: International Colloquium on Jesuit Secondary Education, July 30, 2012, <http://www.icjse.org/assets/Keynote-Mesa-SJ.pdf>, 1.

Mesa affirmed the legacy of Pedro Arrupe, whom he credited as the instigator of secondary school transformation. “Fr. Arrupe invited us to shake our own walls, look outside and open our spirits to change and development, *to keep pace with the changes*. Our schools responded with generosity to this invitation and we have changed, we are different from what we were 50 years ago; and I am not afraid of saying that we are certainly better, more attuned to our mission, more sensitive to social justice than we were before, we are aware that the world is different and that we have to find new answers to new questions.”²⁴

When he spoke at the same gathering, the director of the press office of the Holy See and a past Italian Jesuit provincial, Federico Lombardi, offered a different assessment of Arrupe which highlighted what Lombardi perceived to be a misstep in the renewal of the 1960s. “Despite these upbeat views of Father Arrupe we cannot hide the fact that, for a considerable period of time, many people in the Society of Jesus thought that our schools had achieved their historical mission and that the Jesuits would do better to dedicate themselves to other forms of apostolate. This attitude was influenced by a global tendency of criticism against schools, a fall in the numbers of Jesuits, and the idea that schools were incapable of educating people in justice and the transformation of society.”²⁵ He credited Arrupe’s successor, Peter Hans Kolvenbach, for validating the important role of schools in fulfilling the Jesuit mission, a move that Lombardi saw as having helped the education apostolate regain its footing. In his consideration of Jesuit identity, Lombardi stated that in Jesuit secondary education, there remained an important place for Jesuits, although “nothing therein is the exclusive property of the Jesuits, nothing cannot be shared and

24. Ibid., 3.

25. Federico Lombardi, S.J., “Staying Faithful to the Jesuit Mission of Our Schools,” July 31, 2012, *ibid.*, <http://www.icjse.org/assets/Keynote-LombardiSJ.pdf>, 8–9.

lived by others who feel the call. Jesuits may be the animators and custodians of a certain spirit and a certain tradition, but this spirit and this tradition can be subsumed by others who can act with no less conviction and passion.”²⁶ As subsumers, rather than consumers, non-Jesuits could commit themselves to taking on that same spirit and tradition while the Jesuits remained as the caretakers.

At the same colloquium, Jesuit Daniel Patrick Huang, the general counsel and regional assistant for Asia Pacific, proposed that all Jesuit high schools should seek a “broader Ignatian apostolic community” to foster their identity.²⁷ A wider approach would address what Huang saw as the source of difficulty for Jesuit schools. “The main problem is the refusal of Jesuits to be realistic about the number of institutions and apostolic works for which they are responsible. This is essentially a problem of poor discernment” (9). The reality was that there was “not enough spirit to animate all the flesh that we have accumulated” (9-10). His solution was to develop a distinction between schools that would “be described as Ignatian (that is, sharing the spirit of the Exercises and the spirituality of Ignatius) and which will remain Jesuit (that is, not only sharing the Ignatian spiritual heritage, but also sharing the Society of Jesus’ understanding of its mission and involving some form of Jesuit institutional responsibility)” (10).

Ignatius Loyola’s instruction in Part Seven of the *Constitutions* clarified his expectation regarding Jesuit manpower. Jesuits were not to be missioned merely to meet various needs because “the vineyard of the Lord ... is so extensive,” signifying that arguably,

26. Ibid., 12.

27. Daniel Patrick Huang, S.J., “Report from Nairobi: Reflections on Jesuit Identity from the 70th Congregation of Procurators” (hereafter cited as “Nairobi”), July 31, 2012, *ibid.*, <http://www.icjse.org/assets/Keynote-HuangSJ.pdf>, 7.

everything was in need and could justify the worthiness of Jesuit manpower.²⁸ Given this reality, he called for careful discernment regarding where to send the members of the Society. He advised, “One should keep the greater service of God and the more universal good before his eyes as the norm to hold oneself on the right course.”²⁹ It was clearly his position that the Society of Jesus should seek the greater good in discerning its obligations, noting how doing so would enable a multiplier effect which would in turn produce a greater harvest. “The more universal the good is, the more it is divine. Therefore, preference ought to be given to those persons and places which, through their own improvement, become a cause which can spread the good accomplished to many others who are under their influence or take guidance from them.”³⁰

Key to these influential and multiplier outcomes was ensuring that the Society’s continued aid to “important and public persons ... be regarded as more important, since it is a more universal good.”³¹ Influence for the Society’s mission would increase if the Jesuits continued to relate to the elite by facilitating their formation in Jesuit schools. John O’Malley described this apostolic strategy at work from the Society’s early beginnings. “Juan Alfonso de Polanco, executive secretary of the Society from 1547 until 1572, at one point drew up for his fellow Jesuits a quasi-official list of fifteen reasons for the schools ... The final reason he gives is the most encompassing and reveals the social dimension of the whole undertaking: ‘Those who are now only students will grow up to be pastors, civic officials, administrators of justice, and will fill other important posts to everybody’s profit

28. Ignatius, *Constitutions*, pt. 7, no. 622a, 274 (see chap. 1, n. 14).

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, no. 622d, 275.

31. *Ibid.*, no. 622e.

and advantage.’ The schools, in other words, were ... undertaken as a contribution to the common good of society at large.”³²

Seemingly lost in the ongoing renewal of American Jesuit secondary education was this explicit aim to form and expand the distinctive and effective Catholic *insigne*, despite earlier general congregation decrees like “The Better Choice and Promotion of Ministries,” which desired special attention for “the education of youth, especially that part which, it is foreseen, will have greater influence in the life of the Church and the world.”³³ Instead, more recent movements suggested the Society sought a more universal good through the physical expansion of its educational mission, specifically through new schools that sought out the poor exclusively. For example, Mesa emphasized that a significant aspect of Jesuit identity for a school was that it demonstrated “a particular concern for the poor and marginalized. The preferential option for the poor that Jesus preaches in the gospel is part of our way of proceeding. Every Jesuit school should do what it can.”³⁴

The difference was that the number of schools under the Society’s care expanded, which impacted the Society’s ability to concentrate on the ongoing careful formation of the future Catholic elite in America. “Jesuit inspired schools, like Cristo Rey, working with the poor are a living testimony of the great effort made in recent decades for bringing quality education to the disadvantaged in the Jesuit tradition.”³⁵ The choice of physical expansion was somewhat ironic, given the historical evidence that it failed to advance the mission because it taxed an already diminishing Jesuit community. Recall Joseph Fichter’s earlier

32. John W. O’Malley, S.J., “How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education” (hereafter cited as “First Jesuits”), in *A Jesuit Education Reader*, ed. George W. Traub, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2008), 53.

33. “Better Choice,” decree 21, no. 375, in *Congregations*, 195 (see chap. 4, n. 85).

34. Mesa, “Pilgrimage,” 14 (see n. 23).

35. *Ibid.*

critique: “My general impression from the findings of the 1965 survey was that these schools—at least some of them—were in need of renewal and reform, rather than of expansion ... Since 1968 the Jesuits have withdrawn from several of these schools, and the era of continual expansion seems to have ended.”³⁶ In 2012, Huang professed that expansion was an outward sign of the Society’s inner vitality; physical growth was the source of hope in what was otherwise a troubled world. “That we should still be starting new schools means that the Society continues to believe that, through this ministry of education, we can still make a difference in the lives and futures of people and the world; that through schools, Jesuit schools, one can still help bring a bit of the light and hope and life of the Kingdom of God to this dark world.”³⁷

His critique that “Jesuits know how to begin works, but we get too attached to them; we don’t know how or when to entrust them into the hands of others who can keep them thriving better than we can,” was problematic as it diminished the long term opportunity for Jesuits to use their apostolates influentially, to cultivate loyalty to their mission through generations of alumni (9). He imagined a future that would hold greater opportunities for high schools that identified as Ignatian, while schools that continued to be Jesuit would experience the constraint of the Society’s oversight. “Should we start thinking of ourselves more and more as Ignatian rather than as limited Jesuit works?” (10). That schools would be “limited” by being Jesuit demonstrated an attempt to distance the schools not only from the Society’s control, but more importantly, from the Society’s mission. The promotion of Ignatian schools was an attempt to address a difficulty

36. Fichter, *Sociologist*, 214 (see chap. 4, n. 5).

37. Huang, “Nairobi,” 11.

encountered sometimes at the schools. While the provincials required that “a Jesuit school publicly declares its Catholic character,” some saw a Jesuit school’s Catholicity as limiting, which complicated the formation of the Catholic elite.³⁸ For example, Wirth described the experience of Emily Smith, an Episcopalian student at Brebeuf, the Jesuit school of Indianapolis, who “said that she feared that ‘coming here they would push the Catholic faith on me.’ Instead, ‘they push the Jesuit faith on you. The Jesuit ideals flow to every religion.’”³⁹ The disconnect was that the Jesuit “faith” was Catholic. That a student didn’t see this was problematic for the Jesuit mission.

Regarding the decision to create separate institutions with specific missions for outreach to the poor, there might have been great need for them. However, while the creation of these schools was good, it didn’t necessarily connote the greater good for the Society’s mission. Perhaps the greater good would have been continued expansion of the inclusion of the poor within the Jesuit missions already in existence. Jesuits could have obtained resources specifically for the achievement of this greater good within the schools that already existed. O’Malley reminded, “One of the special features of the Jesuit schools was that they were open to students from every social class. This was made possible by Ignatius’ insistence that, in some fashion or other, the schools be endowed, so that tuition would not be necessary ... Regarding the schools, he specifically enjoyed that they be open ‘to rich and poor alike, without distinction.’”⁴⁰

But that is precisely what Campion did, and it failed. Janet states that “Catholic history may best be defined as a sensibility toward the past or, better yet, a cultivated sense

38. “Jesuit Nature,” 11.

39. Wirth, *All the Difference*, 54.

40. O’Malley, “First Jesuits,” 53.

of moral imagination: cultivated in its demand for hard work and constant attention, moral in its recognition of the spiritual underpinnings and purpose of earthly existence, and imaginative in its efforts to find the common elements linking events across time and cultures.”⁴¹ Given this understanding of historical moral imagination, was Campion’s demise a failure?

In forming the Catholic elite, schools like Campion simultaneously facilitated Catholic inclusion within the American elite. The increasing representation of Jesuit graduates at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton signified this. Eventually, these competing secular and religious elites collided and some Jesuits questioned whether the schools were sincere in their efforts. The creation of the JSEA afforded American Jesuit secondary education an opportunity to renew its commitment to greater sincerity in Jesuit education. The new association began, in the language of philosopher Charles Taylor, as a “social imaginary ... the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations.”⁴² The JSEA provided American Jesuits and their colleagues with a way to identify, network, and educate through an association with a distinctive literature that provided “that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy.”⁴³ This complex imaginary refined itself in time, but those schools that were too literal and too immediate in implementing it, experienced failure. Within the association, what emerged gradually was “a sense of the normal expectations we

41. Janet, “Reflections,” 16 (see n. 2).

42. Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 23.

43. Ibid.

have of each other, the kind of common understanding that enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life. This incorporates some sense of how we all fit together in carrying out the common practice. Such understanding is both factual and normative; that is, we have a sense of how things usually go, but this is interwoven with an idea of how they ought to go, of what missteps would invalidate the practice.”⁴⁴

Perhaps experiences like those that occurred at Campion were beneficial for the greater movement of Jesuit secondary education in America. In a 2005 interview in the Center for Social Policy and Community Development at Temple University, Hal Brooks reflected on his Campion experience. “I really believe that whatever student attended Campion during the years the black students were there were touched in some kind of a way. And I think most of that touching was positive ... They probably learned some things that helped them later on in life from us as black students as we learned some things from them that helped us interact even better in the real world as we called it.”⁴⁵

In 2010 the Jesuits of the Wisconsin Province reported that “a group of alumni from the Campion Jesuit High School Class of 1960 launched the ‘New Campion Campaign,’ inviting classmates, friends and other classes to support the building of a Jesuit educational complex in the war-torn region of Gulu in northern Uganda.”⁴⁶ With a 1960 Campion alumnus, a medical doctor named Dave Zamierowski, Jesuits Tony Wach and Jim Stroz, fellow Campion alumni, Uganda’s Ocer Campion Jesuit High School began. Ocer is a Ugandan word meaning, “He is risen.” The initial enrollment of 22 girls and 12

44. Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, 24.

45. Harold Brooks, interview with author, Temple University, April, 2005.

46. Jesuits of the Wisconsin Province, “Jesuit Partner Spotlight: Dave Zamierowski,” Good NewsLink e-newsletter, October 2010, <http://www.jesuitpartners.org/site/News2?id=6437>.

boys was the foundation for a 10-year master plan for a boarding school that would form up to 1,200 students to be equipped with vocational training. “Dave draws a comparison between this approach and his Campion experience. He explains, ‘We were taught to excel and compete, but we were also taught that everyone can win if you frame your work as colleagues. Ocer Campion is open to all and we are trying to model what different religions living together as colleagues looks like. If you raise yourself up by stepping on all those around you, you achieve little. If you pull up all around you, you too will rise up.’”⁴⁷

In his address to the delegates at the international colloquium, Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, the Jesuit provincial of the eastern Africa province, described his journey to Boston College from Africa. “I traveled from our high school, Ocer Campion Jesuit College, in Gulu, northern Uganda. It is located at the heart of a region where a notorious and vicious rebel group killed and mutilated thousands of children, women and men; abducted young boys as child soldier and young girls as sex slaves; and sent millions of people fleeing from their homes as refugees and internally displaced people ... Jesuit education is about making a difference in the lives of these children—leading them along a path that would change their lives and the world around them for good.”⁴⁸

That difference was what Mrs. Samuel Byron Milton desired for her son in 1945. While he did not receive that Jesuit education, Mrs. Milton lived to see the day when her family did benefit from Jesuit schooling. Her grandsons, Samuel Byron Milton III and

47. Ibid.

48. Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, S.J., “When I First Went to School There Was No School: A Reflection on Education as Accompaniment, Compassion, and Solidarity,” Colloquium on JSE, July 30, 2012, <http://www.icjse.org/assets/Keynote-Orobator-SJ.pdf>, 9.

Benny, attended the University of Detroit Jesuit High School, and they graduated in 1979 and 1980.⁴⁹

49. Benny Milton, personal email exchange, March 30, 2013.

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